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A FRENCH CRITIC ON TAMIL BUDDHISTIC LITERATURE.

IT is a matter of congratulation to the friends and admirers of Pandit Swaminatha Aiyar that his labours in the field of Tamil literature have obtained something like European recognition. The present writer has before him two small volumes of *Legendes Buddhistes et Djainas* by Julien Vinson forming part of a series of *Conteurs et Poetes* of all countries published by J. Maisonneuve, Paris. The major part of the book gives a French version of the stories of *Chintamani, Chilappadikaram* and *Manimekalai.* This is preceded by a short introductory notice of Tamil literature and followed by an interesting note on Buddhism and Jainism. To readers of *The Malabar Quarterly* the most welcome account will be of what the French critic has to say on Tamil literature and on the two daughter religions of India.

Tamil literature is particularly strong in moral treatises, religious or heroic epics, and in love stories. It may be conveniently divided, according to M. Vinson, into three periods corresponding to the religious changes of the country. The first is that when Jainism was introduced and was followed by Buddhism. This was followed by a period of revival of Brahminism as seen in the cult of Jainism. The first period falls between the 9th and the 12th or the 13th centuries, and is recognised by Reinhold Rost as the Augustan age of Tamil literature. The second period may be fixed, says M. Vinson, between the 12th century and the 16th century, *i. e.*, the period of European settlement in India. In the third period there was the fostering influence of Vallabha Deva known as Ativira Rama

Pandyan. He had numerous followers who produced many works none of which have attained to fame. The works of the Siddhas (mystical poems ef the Saiva cult—as those in *Sivavakyam*), and of Kumarakurupara Desikan and *Prabhalinga Lilai* bring us down to the modern period of Tayamanavar and Beschi of the seventeenth century.

What we have of Tamil literature is but a part of a larger whole. The struggles between the Jainas and the Buddhists and the Saivites, and the perishable nature of the palm leaves which formed the writing material brought about the loss of many books which we now know only by name.

M. Vinson is inclined to ascribe to the period of the triumph of Saivism the Ramayana of Kamban, the Mahabharata of Villiputturar and the *Sthala* puranas. In supposing that Kamban's Ramayana belongs to the period of Saiva revival of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, M. Vinson, differs from Reinhold Rost who ascribes to the work 1100 A. D. Later on we have grammarians like Pavanandi and vocabulary makers like Sendan and Mandalapurusha.

Coming now to the three books, the summaries of which form the major part of "The Buddhist Legends," M. Vinson says that it is not possible to give any precise idea of the dates when they were composed. He is inclined to think that *Chintamani* and *Chilappadikaram* are anterior to the twelfth century and that the second is earlier than the first. As to *Manimekalai*, he supposes it to have been written in the twelfth century. Buddhamitra (about the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century) makes no mention of it in his own commentary on *Virasoliyam*. Hence it is conjectured that it must be subsequent to the time of the Buddhist grammarians.

M. Vinson in noticing the Pandit's edition of Chilappadikaram talks of "sa science profonde, de son zéle infatigable et de son talent experimente." Those who know and appreciate the unflinching devotion of Mr. Swaminatha Aiyar to his life-task will rejoice to find that his merits are so generously and justly recognised by the French savant.

Turning to the writer's notice on Buddhism and Jainism, we find him emphasising the historic origin of the new cults.

"Buddhism is essentially an Indian religion. Its founder, its first followers, did not pretend to establish a new cult. They did

not even wish to reform the old doctrines. They were only preoccupied with finding the best method for attaining the normal aim of life." They had found the futility of prayers, of mortifications, and sacrifices. Observation showed them the injustice of social organisation into castes, and they wanted to remedy the evil.

One of the cardinal beliefs common alike to Hinduism and Buddhism is the doctrine of metempsychosis. It was not unknown to classical antiquity. It is a logical deduction from the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. The ideas of immortality have their origin—if we are to believe Lucretius and Seneca—in the illusion of memory and of dreams. Since the ordinary duration of human life is so short and the soul animates a perishable body, it must live otherwise and otherwhere than in the world. The soul suffers contamination by its union with matter, hence the need of purification that Virgil refers to (vi Book, 730-747). The good are recompensed in the Elysian fields, then all drink of Lethe and forget their past existence.

The Indian doctrine is exactly the same as the punishment and recompense of one life are given in another life. Indians also suppose there will be an end to these multiple births as they believe that the thoroughly purified soul will achieve *Nirvana* or absorption in the universal substance, the all-pervading soul. Such conception common to diverse Hindu schools of philosophy is the basis of all Indian religions, among others of Saivism and Buddhism.

We will pass by the sketch of the career of Buddha. Comparing Buddha with other religious founders, M. Vinson says:—"He is certainly much superior to Jesus Christ and Mahomet by his life, by his personal worth (valeur), by his measures of propaganda and by his ultimate success. Buddha coming from aristocratic and ruling classes has lived a normal and ordinary life. He has a knowledge of the world; he has been son, husband, father, devoted friend. His training is complete. He is truly a man. Again, his teaching is not presented in the character of a supernatural revelation. He does not doubt the capacities of man. He recognises as the basis of his reasoning the facts of our existence, and it is by observation and by minute and intimate study of human personality that he develops the system."

Proceeding to the doctrinal part of Buddhism, the writer gives a brief account of Buddhist psychology and shows the intimate

connection between life and sensations, that between sensations and wants, between wants and desires. Desire provokes a new combination of individual elements, and all existence with the illusion of individuality allows full sway to Karma, the cause alike of good and evil.

> The angels in the heavens of gladness reap
> Fruits of a holy past;
> The devils in the under worlds wear out
> Deeds that were wicked in an age gone by.

"The aim of all men should therefore be directed to attenuate the effects of Karma by cultivating the attitude of indifference. For attaining the supreme end man must know the form of truth *i. e.*, the nature of sorrow, its causes, its termination, and the way which leads to such termination. Sorrow results from birth, love, fortune, old age, death, in a word, from all that makes up a man's personality." The cause of sorrow is the sensation which produces want, the thirst to act and live. Sorrow is at an end when this thirst is no more. The way of salvation is what will put an end to this thirst, what will stop this activity. This can be attained by the eightfold path of Right Doctrine, Right Purpose, Right Discourse, Right Behaviour, Right Purity, Right Thought, Right Loneliness, Right Rapture.*

What is *Nirvana* is a much vexed question. M. Vinson thinks that it is not annihilation, that it corresponds to *mukti* or *moksha* of the orthodox Hindu cults. *Nirvana* is the cessation or annihilation of all activity and hence of all personality. With the cessation of personality there is no more sorrow, no more good or evil, no subjection to the frightful yoke of life.

We need not follow the subsequent history of Buddhism and of the modifications it underwent. We must make a brief reference to Jainism, the other cult treated by the writer at some length. How closely the teaching of Jainism follows the Vedantic teaching we are all familiar with will be clear from the following:—"For arriving at *moksha*, the soul ought to be in a state of complete indifference. It must escape from good and evil alike, that activity should be completely destroyed, activity which is the sole cause of good and evil deeds. It is because of this activity that we have to be born again and again. The number of our past lives is incalculable and we do not know how many times more we are to be born." Mahavira, the founder of the religion, has been supposed by some to

* See Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia*.

have flourished fifty-five years before Jesus Christ and by others eight hundred years after. M. Vinson supposes that Jainism dates probably from the third and fourth centuries. But Mr. Rhys Davids, no mean authority on this matter, says that Jainism existed even earlier than Buddhism and that Mahavira—a contemporary of Buddha—only reorganized the cult and put new life into it. Later researches—achæological and literary—seem to support Mr. Davids.*

The age of Jain domination at Pandi (Madura) was a flourishing period of Tamil literature, and about half the books that have come down to us are claimed by the Jains. These are the most ancient, the best written and the most original. Canarese literature is similarly indebted to the Jains.

Writing on the 25th March, 1900 the author concludes his preface thus:—

I write these lines in a gloomy winter morning but already the lengthening days announce the near arrival of spring, and the increasing noise of the streets heralds that addition of intense life and activity which will be known as the great Exhibition of the century. Among the strangers who may crowd on either banks of the Seine, there may doubtless be some representatives of India. If one of these children of the sun, if one of the sons of that land of illusion and dream comes across my two volumes, he will find no doubt a feeble echo in them of the voices of his fatherland, he will recognise there the beliefs of his ancestors and thinking of the incalculable existences which according to the philosophic theories of his teachers he will have to go through before the final annihilation, he will recommend to his Parisian hosts the volumes quoting a distich from an old Tamil poet;

Orumaikat tan katra kalvi oruvar
Kezhumaiyum emappudaittu.

[The knowledge that one has gained in the present birth will be useful to him for seven other births.]

K. B. RAMANATHAN.

* *Vide* Art. Jainism, Encycl. Britannica, Vol. 29.

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"THE JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE."

THE subject of this essay is one which requires little apology from me, for, it will be readily admitted by all thoughtful minds that, in point of theoretical interest and practical importance, few subjects can equal it. An adequate discussion of the vast and momentous questions which it opens up, and a satisfactory solution of them beyond the possibility of controversy, require a juristic master-mind imbued with the grand principles and traditions of legal philosophy and constitutional law, and fully conversant with the general history of legal institutions. Such an exhaustive enquiry into the subject, which is hardly possible within the limits of a Review article, is far from my present object, and all that I propose to do in the following pages is to touch upon some of the fundamental doctrines which underlie the judicial enforcement of justice, and which regulate the constitution of judges, their duties and functions.

The important question which presents itself for discussion at the very threshold of the subject is as regards the nature of the office of a judge. The origin of the judicial office among civilized societies is a moot question of judicial controversy which has divided the great jurists of the world. It is unnecessary for the purpose of this essay to enter upon a discussion of the different theories entertained regarding it. It is enough to say that, as justice is an attribute of God implanted in human beings, the noblest of His creation, so, the origin of the judicial office, necessary for the enforcement of justice, is co-eval with the foundation of human society, and it has been in existence under various forms and in various aspects, from the earliest times of recorded history. The protection of property and of life and liberty being essential to the existence of human society, the power of compelling obedience to rules of conduct laid down with a view to such protection, and of affording redress when they are violated, was a *sine qua non* of every system of civilized polity. In primitive states of society, in which communities of human beings were held in subjection and governed by rulers with no clear conception of the rights and responsibilities attaching to sovereignty, the vindication of justice was of a rough and ready character, and the rulers themselves, not seldom discharged the functions of a judge. But with the progress of society and the

advance of civilization, correct and refined ideas came to be entertained in regard to the true position and function of the state, and the increasing complexity of human interests and activities, inseparable from social progress, rendered it impossible for the ruler to attend in person to all the various legal concerns of the subject population. The state then resolved itself into organized departments of administration, and the judicial authority, vested in theory in the ruler, thus came to be lodged in legal tribunals by a process of delegation. Among the Romans, the foremost nation of antiquity, the declaratory function and the vindicatory authority of the judicial office were placed in different hands. To represent the law with due solemnity, to pronounce judgment and to enforce it by means of the power delegated by the State to the judicial authority, there was the *Magistratus*, and to enquire into matters of fact in contest between suitors, to receive and weigh evidence, and to pronounce an opinion on the merits of the case, there was the *Judex*. The *Magistratus* was originally a dignitary selected from among the ranks of the Patrician order and in later times, the consuls, Prætors, and the Ædiles successively discharged the functions of the *Magistratus*. As to *Judex*, any member of the senatorial body chosen by the parties could be appointed as such. From a very early period of Roman history, this bifurcation of the judicial function was in existence, and it continued till the introduction of the system of *Extra ordinaria judicia*. It is possible that this separation of the judicial function into two distinct sets of tribunals was the origin of the system of judge and jury which has come to be recognized in modern times. However this may be, it is a matter of legal history that since the dawn of modern civilization, the notion of the judicial tribunal as a separate authority, distinct from the State in its executive capacity, has obtained among the leading continental nations of Europe. In early times this liberal notion met with much opposition in absolute monarchies, by reason of the Divine right claimed by kings according to the maxim *a Deo Rex, a Rege Lex,* but in course of time as better notions of sovereign rights and duties gained currency, this opposition gradually died out. The memorable stand made by Sir Edward Coke against the advocates of the principle of direct administration of the law by the sovereign in person is a matter of legal history, and it is well worth study by every one who wants to acquaint

himself with the glorious traditions of English Law. According to the Hindu *Sastras* also, the judicial tribunal is a distinct constitution though its authority is derived from sovereign delegation. Though in strict theory, the king represents the majesty of law, the *Sastras* contemplate the king as subordinate to the Divine laws, which constitute the root of all human laws. According to Manu, the great law giver, though the judicial power is a delegated function of the king, the exercise of it is to be lodged in an independent tribunal acknowledging only the supremacy of the Divine laws. According to the theory of British constitutional law, the obligation of the sovereign to respect the law of the realm is undoubted. According to some political jurists a sovereign's obligation to administer justice in accordance with the law of the realm is derived from the supposed "original compact" between him and his subjects, which is implied in his coronation oath. However this may be, it is clear that according to the constitutional law of all civilized systems of limited monarchy, the king is, though not *sub homine, sub deo et sub lege.*

A consideration of the origin of the judicial office, as it has obtained among the civilized nations of the world, shows that it is one of the supreme functions of the sovereign power lodged for convenient exercise in independent tribunals specially constituted for the purpose. The judicial office being thus one of the most responsible and valuable adjuncts of sovereignty, it follows that a judge who is fit to represent its majesty must be a man far superior to the ordinary run of humanity in mental and moral worth. In so far as his function is the administration of laws, he must be a sound lawyer versed in the theory and practice of law, and well grounded in the history of general jurisprudence; and in so far as his business is the impartial administration of justice, he must be a man thoroughly imbued with the best principles of equity, and must possess, in addition, a good conscience, a keen insight into human character and motives. "As his function very often involves the difficult task of searching the hearts of men, his knowledge of human nature must be of a high order. As a scholar he must be an accomplished man graced with at least a general knowledge of history, of philosophy, and of the useful arts. He must have large understanding and great magnanimity." He must be quick in the appreciation of facts, lucid in the exposition of law

and accurate in decision. These are some of the general qualities which should characterize a judge fit for his office. The noblest characteristics which should distinguish a judge still remain to be considered. The most important of these characteristics are integrity, independence, patience and good conscience. As these are the most essential traits in the character of a judge, a few words upon each of them may usefully be hazarded here. On this point we cannot find a better model for discussion than the far-famed judiciary of England, ennobled by its splendid traditions and admirable constitution. The integrity of English judges is proverbial, and this quality has been, from the earliest times of legal history, recognised in England as one of the most essential attributes of the judicial office. So widely and with such firm hold on the national mind has this belief prevailed through successive ages, that judicial honesty is now reckoned as one of the commonest qualities of an English judge carrying with it no special title to commendation. A learned writer observes as follows on this point in an American Law Review:—"Dealing with every question openly and in public view, under the full light that beats against the Bench, surrounded by an upright and honorable Bar sensible of their dignity and proud of their traditions—a judge must be a poor specimen of human nature indeed, that does not deserve the credit of acting from honest motives." It may be that there were, in very ancient times, instances of judicial impurity in England here and there, but it is indisputable that such instances were aberrations from the strict rectitude enjoined on judges by the constitution. The great Magna-Charta embodies in itself the noblest and the most admirable principles of judicial integrity and rectitude. The famous 40th article of it is said to run in these words:—"We will sell to no man, we will deny to no man, justice or right." The various remedial statutes passed from time to time by the British Parliament show the extremely wholesome jealousy with which the English constitutional law guards the purity of the judicial office. Notwithstanding the defects which existed in the infancy of constitutional history, the present conceptions of the judicial office as they obtain in England stand on the highest pedestal of ethical excellence, and are well worth study and imitation by every judiciary concerned in the administration of justice. It is of the very essence of a civilized government that the administration of justice should be

kept most pure, and the public who are deeply interested in the due discharge of the duties incident to the office of a judge are entitled to require that he, to whose hands are committed their property, life and liberty, should be free from all suspicion of disregarding the sacred obligations of justice. The well-known maxim of law is *Justitia debet esse libera,* (Justice ought to be unbought) because nothing is more hateful than venal justice. Those alone are fit for the office of a judge who can adequately realize and conscientiously act up to the moral sublimity of this universally-recognized maxim of law. Such judicial purity as is contemplated by the maxim under reference can only be secured by appointing as judges men of high education and strong conscience, and placing them above the reach of temptation by means of remuneration adequate to the responsibility of their functions. This enlightened policy has all along guided the British Government in India in the treatment of its judiciary. It is enough in support of this observation to refer to a passage in the Preamble to Regulation III of 1793 under which the Courts of Dewany Adalat, since abolished, were established in India. The passage in question runs in these words :—"The Government has determined to lodge its judicial authority in Courts of Justice, the Judges of which shall not only be bound by the most solemn oaths to dispense the laws and regulations impartially, but be so circumstanced as to have no plea for not discharging their high and important trusts with diligence and uprightness." The latter part of this passage clearly means that adequate remuneration and prospects were attached to the courts so established for the purpose of ensuring diligent and upright discharge of duty on the part of the judges. An able and upright judiciary being at once the glory and the strength of a civilized government, the enlightened principle of public policy embodied in the above passage is well worth adoption by every state which cares for the happiness of its subjects.

Closely allied to the subject of judicial integrity is the subject of judicial independence, and in treating of this subject, the fearless independence which has characterized the judges of England from the remotest times of her judicial history claims our profound admiration. On many a memorable occasion have English judges of eminence stood up manfully against what they conceived to be encroachments upon their legitimate province on the part of the executive power, and it is a matter of legal history that on every such occasion, instead of suffering a diminution in their prerogative,

they have succeeded in asserting the supreme majesty of the law. An English judge in the discharge of his judicial functions yields his homage to no earthly power except the law which he is bound to administer, and he acknowledges no superior as competent to influence his judicial mind, except God and his own conscience. His motto is *Fiat Justitia, ruat caelum* (Let justice be done, though the heavens fall). The law being no respecter of persons, those that are charged with its administration cannot, without proving false to their trust, suffer any person to stand between them and the impartial discharge of their duty as enjoined by law. The noble maxim of Roman Law, *Justitia non vid patrem nec matrem solum veritatum spectat justitia* (Justice knows neither father nor mother, but looks to truth alone), embodies this conception most admirably. This maxim is of course illustrative, and it is intended to show that considerations such as relationship, friendship, and family ties, ought not to be allowed to influence a judge in his dispensation of justice. The moral heroism required in a judge for strict compliance with the above injunction is certainly of a high order, but it is a *sine qua non* of the office of a judge. At times, in the course of his duty, a judge must find himself placed in opposition to the claims of his personal obligations such as friendship, gratitude or relationship; often there may be arrayed against the conscientious discharge of his duty, powerful interests and influential persons. At such times a judge without moral backbone will be like a ship tossed upon the wide ocean and is sure to bring discredit upon the service to which he belongs. A Brutus condemning with his own breath his own son to be hanged is perhaps an extreme instance of moral magnanimity, heroic to a fault, but it is undeniable that the principle underlying such instances is bottomed in the clearest dictates of abstract justice. To quote the words used by an eminent chief justice on a memorable occasion, a judge must do his duty "in the fear of God and without the fear of man." This is an admirable conception of judicial independence and deserves to be laid to heart by every judge worthy of his sacred position. The fear of God is inculcated as an essential virtue in a judge, for, without it, the religious sanction for the just performance of his duty will be wanting. The religious faith in an over ruling Providence, omniscient and omnipresent, and capable of meting out rewards and punishments hereafter according to individual deserts is one of the strongest incentives to right conduct on the part of human beings,

and a judge who has to do between man and man cannot afford to be without this powerful incentive. Conscience is no doubt a safe guide generally, but without the salutary help of Divine faith, it cannot go far. Human laws being merely adaptations of the Divine laws to meet the exigencies of society, those who administer such human laws must have respect for the Divine law, and respect for the Divine laws pre-supposes belief in a Divine Providence. According to the fundamental conceptions of every civilized system of jurisprudence, the highest rule of conduct is that which is inculcated by religion. *Summa ratio est qua pro religione facit*: it is clear from this that a judge whose function is to expound and enforce rules of right conduct cannot be devoid of religious feeling. A firm faith in the justice of God who is the witness of his intentions will enable a judge to triumph over that ordinary frailty of human nature, *viz*, the fear of man. In the discharge of his sacred functions, a judge has no need to be afraid of man. His duty is cut out for him by law, and he has simply to carry it out with an enlightened conscience. The fear of incurring the displeasure of the society in which he moves ought not to deter a judge from the conscientious performance of his duty. So long as he is the authority responsible for the right administration of law and justice, he must carry out what *he* conceives to be law and justice, and not what *other people*, however high and eminent, consider as such. Judicial independence of this kind has been the glory of the English judiciary from the earliest times of recorded history. The distinguished names of Coke, Holt, Eldon, Mansfield and Brougham cannot fail to recall to the mind of an English lawyer memorable instances of judicial independence on the part of eminent judges. Not only have English judges, in ancient times, successfully withstood on several occasions the action of the British Parliament, not justified by the constitution, but they have also very often taken upon themselves the authority of the Legislature with a view to adapt the inflexible law to the altered circumstances of society, and in some cases, to remedy the flagrant evils of ill-conceived statutes. This kind of judiciary action was very necessary in the early days of English jurisprudence, because there was then no complete "Lex Scripta" or code of substantive laws sufficient to meet all the requirements of society. The judges were therefore obliged to build up a system of common law step by step, by a free resort to analogy and legal

fictions deduced from old principles and precedents. What is known in English law as an "action on the case" is a familiar example of the judicial creation of a form of action, to meet the exigency of the legal maxim, *ribijus ibi remedium* (where there is a right, there is a remedy), and the way in which it was brought about is set out in the leading case of Ashby *vs.* White. Then again, the whole of the mercantile law of England owes its origin to the constructive genius of English judges, the foremost among whom stands the celebrated Lord Mansfield. Burke's eloquent panegyric upon this eminent judge is couched in the following words:—"He (Lord Mansfield) sought to effect the amelioration of the law by making its liberality keep pace with justice and the actual concerns of the world, and not by restricting the infinitely diversified conditions of men and the rules of natural justice within artificial circumscription, but by conforming its principles to the growth of our commerce and our Empire." Similarly, the whole body of English equity jurisprudence is the slow product of the fertile genius of English judges, among whom Lord Eldon and Lord Hardwicke are the most famous. As instances of the judicial abrogation of legislative enactments may be mentioned the fate which befell the Statute De Donis, and the Statute of uses passed by the Legislature for the special benefit of the nobility and the clergy respectively. The judges to whom it fell to administer the provisions of these statutes, finding that the object aimed at was repugnant to the principles of the common law, virtually nullified these statutes by putting upon them a construction subversive of their operation. Such conflicts between the judicial body and the Legislature are in modern times very rare; and the reason is that the codification of laws has in modern days made considerable progress, and the Legislature responsible for the enactment of laws is composed of able lawyers, in harmony with judges who have to administer them. In ancient times, this was not the case, and hence the conflict. In the early history of British Judicial Administration in India there were occasionally remarkable instances of such conflict between high-souled English judges, and the Indian Legislature; but in these days such a conflict is well nigh impossible. The just preservation of the boundaries between the legislative and the judicial functions is one of the chief safeguards of public liberty and social well-being, and this being so, a conflict between the two is very much to be

deprecated. The same rule applies to the relation which should exist between the executive and the judiciary. In every well-ordered state the judges, within the discharge of their judicial functions, must be independent of the executive, but in Governments the constitution of which is not founded upon sound and well-balanced principles, we see occasionally encroachments of the executive upon the province of the judiciary. The best remedy against this is to define correctly the limits of executive authority and to improve the position of the judiciary. The independence and highmindedness which has been the glory of the English judiciary from the earliest times is the outcome of the admirable principles which underlie the conception of the judicial office in England. Judges in England occupy their office in permanent security, and are not removable except for proved misconduct. So long as they discharge their duties properly, the executive authority cannot dislodge them from their office. They are judges during good behaviour, and are perfectly independent of the action of the executive authority. Moreover, in appointments to the judicial office the utmost care is taken by the Government to select only such men as are, by legal training and moral worth, competent to fill such exalted office with credit. These excellent principles deserve to be imitated by all states that care for the well-being of their judiciary.

The next matter which claims our notice is judicial patience. Precipitancy in a judge, as observed by Sir Thomas Clarke, is as much to be deprecated as procrastination. The duty of the judge is to cull out the truth from a mass of conflicting facts placed before him, and this duty cannot be satisfactorily discharged without due deliberation. The necessity for such deliberation is greater in these days than in times gone by, because judges of the present day have to reckon with a highly intelligent and educated Bar, possessing legal subtlety and forensic ability of a high order. The judge must often be placed on the horns of ingenious dilemmas created by the legal dexterity of opposing practitioners, and if in such cases, he is to find his way out of them, to truth and justice, he must not only be a trained lawyer himself, but must also possess in an eminent degree the faculty of patience, deliberation, and reflection. Besides, no judge can properly get at the justice of a case without hearing all that the parties before him, or the counsel who represent them, have to say on the question at issue. As beautifully expressed by the maxim *Festinatio justitiae est noversa infortunii*, hasty justice

is the stepmother of misfortune. The theory held by that great judge, Lord Justice Cotton, was that "counsel should be heard to the fullest limit of what they desire to say; not only to the extent of the court being certain that it had heard all that could reasonably be urged, but to the extent of the parties being satisfied that all had been said to the court which they desired should be brought to its attention." The latter part of this rule is perhaps an extreme view of judicial patience, and it is difficult to act up to it in practice strictly, in cases where the parties before the court are ignorant and uneducated—but there can hardly be any doubt as to the wholesome effect of the rule in cases where it can be followed, consistently with the exigency of public business. Speaking generally, it is not enough that the judge administers justice, but it is necessary that the litigant public should be impressed that they had justice at the hands of the judge. Judged by this test, the rule aforesaid has much to recommend it. Though patience is thus a very desirable quality in a judge, it ought not to result in judicial procrastination, which is an intolerable evil. The habit of postponing a decision *sine die* is to be studiously avoided by judges. Such a habit, if persisted in, will, by slow degrees, tell upon the judges' capacity for work. It will, moreover, have a demoralizing effect upon the administration of justice, and will tend to public inconvenience. The judicial procrastination which characterized the Court of Chancery in England in ancient times was proverbial, and was a matter of much public clamour. As observed by a great lawyer when speaking of that period, the "doubts" of twenty years' duration were simply ruin to the suitors. Expedition in administering justice is as much the right of the subject as justice itself, and this is clear from the words of the Magna Charta *nulli negare, nulli differa justitiam,* which mean "we will not deny justice or *delay* justice to any man." Delay in justice is here placed on the same footing as denial of justice, and this view is just, because tardy justice is in many respects worse than speedy injustice. In the words of a leading writer on constitutional law, the subjects of every civilized Government are entitled to have justice and right administered to them "freely without sale, fully without any denial, and speedily without delay." Judicial patience is desirable for the purpose of enabling the judge to get at the justice of a case, but when the judge is a trained lawyer possessing a faculty for quick apprehension, he has no need to, and

he should not, waste public time unnecessarily. Within the limits of, and subject to, the qualifications indicated above, patience in a judge is a desirable virtue.

The next matter for consideration is the subject of justice, and the way in which a judge ought to administer it. This is a very wide subject and comprehends a variety of topics. My discussion of it will be brief and of a general character. It is hardly necessary to say that a judge should be thoroughly imbued with the principles of justice, equity and good conscience. His sympathy with humanity and his regard for human concerns should be of a high order, as finely expressed by the Roman maxim, *Homo sum, humane nihile, a me alienum puto* (I am a man; nothing which concerns mankind can be a matter of unconcern to me). Justice is a universal principle of Divine law, and its foundation is deeper than the rules of positive law. It is, according to the "Manava-Dharma Sastra," the only firm friend who follows men even after death; all others are extinct with the body". Loving justice for its own sake, a judge must have a profound hatred of injustice in any shape. He must have a salutary dread of the consequences of injustice in the sight of God and of man. He must in short realize the injunction laid down by Manu in the following verse: "When justice, having been wounded by iniquity, approaches the court, and the judge extracts not the dart, he shall also be wounded by it." In deciding cases according to justice and right, a judge must mitigate the rigour of strict law by a sympathetic application of equity and good conscience. His motto should not be *Fiat jus, ruat justitia*. The end and aim of all human laws being public welfare (*Salus populi suprema lex*), and justice being an essential factor in public welfare, a judge should so construe the statute law, in cases of doubt, as to advance the cause of substantial justice. Simply because it is the province of the legislature to remedy the defects of a particular provision of law, a judge ought not to construe it with a rigidity subversive of justice; for, the legislature can only correct the law, but cannot remedy the injustice done in the particular cases. In saying this, I am not to be understood as subscribing to the view that a judge should follow the dictates of his conscience in preference to the law laid down for his guidance. Far from countenancing such a doctrine, which is opposed to the well-known maxim *judicio est jus dicere, non dare* (judges are to declare the law and not to

make it), I unreservedly admit, in the words of a learned judge, that "judiciary legislation should retire within the narrow limits of judicial interpretation, in proportion to the increased activity of the legislature." All that I mean is that the plain justice of a case should not suffer by a too rigid adherence to the letter of the law divorced from its spirit. To administer the law in this liberal manner a judge must not only possess intellectual greatness of a high order, combined with a strong sense of justice, but must also have an enlightened acquaintance with the general principles of law and justice. He must also be an accomplished lawyer, learned in the theory and practice of law. The common impression that strong common sense is a sufficient qualification for a judge is altogether erroneous, and the fallacy underlying it is too clear to need refutation. It must be conceded that mere common sense, without special training, is not a sufficient qualification even in the ordinary avocations of life; and if this is so, it can hardly be that, in the most delicate and responsible of human professions, *viz*, the profession of law, common sense in itself is a sufficient guide to those who follow it. There can be no doubt about this in the present advanced state of the progress of the world. "As civilization increases, the relations of mankind become more and more complex and artificial, distinctions between rights and regarding property more nice and numerous, and the necessity of a paramount and overruling equity more apparent, and the function of a judge more comprehensive and difficult." Such being the case, a profound knowledge of law derived from a scientific study of it is a *sine qua non* of a successful judge at the present day * * * . A judge must have respect for precedents, and should avoid the habit of making supra-subtle distinctions and extra-judicial observations. Regard for precedents in cases where the facts and circumstances are similar is necessary to secure uniformity of decisions, from which follows certainty of law, which is the "mother of public tranquillity." The rule of *stare decio* is based on this ground. Where, however, the case in hand differs in essential particulars from a former decision quoted as precedent, a judge is bound to distinguish the one from the other, and while treating the precedent with respectful deference, as an authority on the general rule, to maintain his independence of view in the particular case which differs from it. This is what eminent judges in England do. The habit of drawing

wire drawn distinctions is to be avoided by a judge, in view of the fact that the more general a rule of law is, the better it is for society. The desirability of avoiding extra-judicial observations arises from the fact that they very often lead to unfounded expectations and serve as an incentive to speculative litigation.

Having thus briefly discussed some of the desirable traits in the *judicial* character of an ideal judge, I may say a few words regarding his *personal* conduct and character in the discharge of judicial work. He must be courteous to the Bar, considerate towards suitors, and imperturable in temper. He must possess in an eminent degree the *savitor in modo*, combined with the *fortiter in re.* He must be dignified in bearing, upright in intentions, and magnanimous in his judicial utterances. He must be free from hobbies of all kinds, and his scale of justice must be the same for all, irrespective of caste, colour or creed. His private morals must be above reproach and his public character above suspicion. He must scrupulously avoid being drawn into situations where his private interests may clash with his public duties, and above all, he must keep himself aloof from the dangerous strife of party politics. Judicial gravity commensurate to the majesty of his sacred functions must characterize him at every step. In short, he must be a living embodiment of the immutable principles of eternal justice.

T. V. ANANTAN NAIR.

VEDANTA, THEOSOPHY AND SCIENCE.

PHILOSOPHY signifies the love of wisdom. All philosophic endeavours spring from the impulse of the human mind to comprehend itself and the world around it. Every age of the world and every people, the mind of which has attained to any degree of cultivation, have had their different philosophies, *i. e.*, have tried to unravel the problems of their own existence and of the universe around them An adequate knowledge of the unverse is the aim of the highest scientific thought. Each science professes to give the last word that can for the time be said, not on the universe as a whole, but on that particular part of it with which it is concerned. If the several sciences give only the final deliverances that can be made for the time being in their respective spheres, philosophy gives a comprehensive conception of the universe. And it is only when the final utterances of all the sciences have been thus co-ordinated and if possible, subordinated to higher generalizations, that we can be said to have an adequate conception of the universe as a whole. The differences among philosophers hitherto may be resolved ultimately into a difference of psychological theory accompanied by certain differences of cosmological conception, all subject to or ending in a difference in respect of ontological faith. First, as to the psychological theory, or the origin of knowledge: according to one school, all our knowledge is derived solely from experience, while according to another, there are elements of knowledge, the origin or reason of which transcends or lies beyond the horizon of historical conditions. The cosmological question relates to the object of knowledge, *i. e.*, the cosmos or the universe. *The cosmological conception of any man is the true abstract or representation of his whole mind or philosophy.* Two main cosmological systems have figured in the past history of philosophy. They are (A) Substantialism, which is divided into (1) Dualism and (2) Monism, which again is subdivided into (*a*) Materialistic Monism, (*b*) Idealistic Monism and (*c*) Absolute Monism and (B) Non-substantialism or Nihilism. According to Materialism, matter is the primordial unity, and mind is educed from it, while according to Idealism, matter is not a distinct or independent existence in any sense but may be resolved completely into mind. Absolute Monism holds that mind or spirit, and matter are phenomenal modifications of one common

substance. The whole cosmos, both of spirit and matter, is referred to one absolute entity of which it is to be conceived as but the function, activity, manifestation or flourishing. The second cosmological theory of Nihilism or Non-Substantialism holds that the phenomenal cosmos resolves itself into an absolute nothingness, mere appearances with no credible substratum of reality—a play of phantasms in a void. Psychology and cosmology are the sciences of the phenomenal but ontology is the science of the Absolute. It is the science of things in themselves. The ontological difference is intertangled with the psychological and cosmological differences, and a discussion of them always brings it into sight. Though there are thus three main philosophical problems, yet, the cosmological conception of any man is the true abstract or representation of his whole mind or philosophy. The varied forms of Western thought which had long occupied the different schools of philosophical research began about the middle of the last century to pass away from the scene of human interest and gave way to new thoughts and speculations in which a higher unity was evidently aimed at. The latest form which these new philosophical speculations have taken is Absolute Monism in which the Materialistic and the Idealistic systems are but taken into account and sought to be perfectly combined in a higher unity. Materialism and Idealism are both logically correct and sufficient up to a certain point only. And it has remained for Monism, while absorbing into itself the undeniable positions of both lines of thought, to grasp the moment where they each diverge from truth and by a flight of genius, to keep them in the path of reason by uniting them at the critical moment into one harmonious whole. The arguments for two substances have now entirely lost their validity. They are no longer compatible with ascertained science and clear thinking. The one substance with two sets of properties, two sides, the physical and the mental, a double-faced unity, would appear to comply with all the exigencies of the case. The Darwinian researches first began to turn the investigation respecting the fixed phenomena of nature, of humanity and of thought itself into a general theory of Evolution. This theory taken up and developed by Herbert Spencer raises the whole philosopical thinking of the age into a new and higher form. Such in brief is the history of Western Philosophy. Turning to the East, there are six systems of Indian Philosophy or Darsanas, *viz.*, Nyaya (the

system of Logic), Vaiseshika (the system of particulars), Sankhya (the system of number), Yoga (the system of effort or of unjon) and the Purva and Uttara Mimamsa. The Purva Mimamsa enquires into the meaning of the first part or the Karmakanda of the Vedas, while the Uttara Mimamsa enquires into the meaning of the latter part or the Gnanakanda of the Vedas. The Uttara Mimamsa, otherwise called the Vedanta, is the dominant philosophy in India. The Purva Mimamsa is not philosophy in the true sense. The other four schools, *viz.*, the Nyaya, the Vaiseshika, the Sankhya and the Yoga are refuted by the Uttara Mimamsa or the Vedanta in the second chapter of the " Vedanta Sutras." No doubt a few of the doctrines of these four schools are accepted by Vedanta, but their views on the fundamental question of the nature and relation of God, soul and universe, the Tatva Traya, are refuted by the three schools of Vedanta. *viz.*, Advaitism (Monism), Visishtadvaitism (Mono-Dualism) and Dvaitism (Dualism). While Advaitism holds the essential oneness of God, soul and universe, Visishtadvatism and Dvaitism insist on their essential difference and the subordination of soul and universe to God. This fundamental difference between the three schools of Vedanta on the theoretical side leads to important practical differences. Of course Advaitism accepts the Dualistic position to a certain extent, *i. e.*, as the popular view to be transcended by true knowledge. Hence the common fallacy of considering Advaitism or Theosophy to agree with Dualism. Such is the view of the six systems of philosophy as found in the commentaries of the three Schools of Vedanta on the Prasthana Traya. *i. e.*, the Upanishads, the Vedanta Sutras and the Bhagavadgita. While it is so, we find Mrs. Annie Besant maintaining in her lecture on Hinduism in the "Four Great Religions" that " the three schools of Vedanta ought not to be considered as antagonistic to each other but ought to be viewed as successive steps, the one leading to the other, the Dvaita leading to Visishtadvaita and the Visishtadvaita to Advaita." This Theosophic view is echoed in the " Advanced Text Book of Hindu Religion and Ethics" which says that "the six Darsanas may be seen as parts of a whole" and that " the six Darsanas are best understood by being seen in relation to each other, rather than in position, for they form in their entirety one great scheme of philosophic truth." Where is the authority for this statement in the recognized text books of Vedanta of the three schools? As

regards the first four systems of philosophy, the above work says that "In the Nyaya and Vaiseshika, a man learns to use his intellectual powers rightly, to detect fallacies and to understand the material constitution of the universe. In the Sankhya, he learns the course of evolution and in the Yoga how to hasten his own growth." As already said, a few of the doctrines of these four schools may be accepted by the Vedanta, but the question is, does the Vedanta accept the fundamental doctrines of these four schools with reference to God, soul and universe, the three real factors of philosophy. We find at any rate the Vedanta works of the three schools refuting the views of these four schools on this essential point, the only point in question in the discussion of philosophy and of religion based on philosophy. As regards the Purva Mimamsa, the "Advanced Text Book" says that in it a man "is trained to use the invisible world for the helping of the visible"—a view to which the Vedanta will not have any objection. Lastly, the book says with reference to the Vedanta—the real philosophy of India—"*And in the three schools of Vedanta*, a man learns to *climb from* the idea of himself as *separate from Brahman to* the thought that he is a *part of Brahman* that can unite with Him, *and finally* that he *is and ever has been Brahman*, veiled from himself by Avidya." The word "climb" refers clearly to the three schools of Vedanta and cannot refer to the climbing from the five other schools to Vedanta. No doubt the previous passages about the other schools show that in the view of the writers of the "Advanced Text book" those schools are successive steps leading to Vedanta—a view not accepted by any school of Vedanta. The "Advanced Text book" proceeds here to say that *even among the three schools of Vedanta*, Dvaita leads to Visishtadvaita and Visishtadvaita to Advaita. We shall now see whether this ladder of philosophic thought is common to the three schools of Vedanta or is only acceptable to the Advaita. The "Advanced Text book" itself says that "the *Dvaita Vedanta* insists on the separateness of the Jivatma and Paramatma; it teaches that Vishnu is the supreme Deity, and formed the universe out of Prakriti, that Prakriti and Jiva are subordinate to and depend on Vishnu. Jiva is immaterial, different from Vishnu, and each Jiva is different from every other. The *Visishtadvaita Vedanta* is for those, who, conscious of separation and longing for union with the Supreme, feel the necessity for an object of worship and devotion and find it

in the conception of the Saguna Brahman, the conditioned Brahman, Ishvara, the supreme Lord. Brahman is the highest reality, the one, but has attributes inseparable from himself. From Brahman come the separated souls. These separated souls are manifested during the period of activity, and when Pralaya approaches they are drawn in, become unmanifested, both soul and matter. Brahman is the object of worship, on whom the soul depends, the soul being not Brahman, but a part of Brahman. According to the *Advaita Vedanta*, Brahman is Nirguna, without attributes, and is real; all else is unreal. Jivatma and Paramatma are the same. There is no difference. The idea of difference arises from Avidya, nescience, and when the Atma transcends nescience, it knows its own nature and is free. The universe springs from Brahman and is the work of Maya. Cause and effect are one and the same, not two different things. The unreality of the Universe, having reality as it were behind it, has a kind of reality, like a shadow which cannot not exist without a substance and this justifies and makes necessary activity of all kinds. Hence also there is the knowledge of the phenomenal, as well as the knowledge of the noumenal. Having established the fundamental truth of unity, the Vedanta explains conditions which surround the Atma enveloped in Avidya; the Upadhi which makes its illusory separateness which is grouped as the gross, the subtle and the causal bodies, and the states of consciousness, belonging to these, namely the waking, the dreaming and the sleeping states. While the Atma identifies itself with the Upadhis, it is bound. When it knows itself as itself, it is free. For those who are not yet ready for this effort after self-knowledge ritual is necessary. But for those who have reached the point where only the Atma attracts, *gnanam* is enough. Brahman is the goal. Such then is the fundamental difference between the three schools of Vedanta on the important question of the Tatvatraya, *i. e.*, God, Soul and Universe. If so, is the above view of climbing from Dvaitism to Visishtadvaitism and from Visishtadvaitism to Advaitism, the view of the authors of the "Advanced Text Book" adopting the reconciliation policy of Theosophy or is it the view of the authoritative text books of the Hindus, which it professes to expound? At any rate, as far as the recognized commentaries of the Prasthana Traya by Sri Sankaracharya, Sri Ramanuja Charya and Sri Madvacharya are concerned, the above *Theosophic* view of the

"Advanced Text Book" is diametrically opposed to the received orthodox views of the three schools of Vedanta. The pro-Advaitic and Spencerian or Monistic tendency of Theosophy will be evident from the following quotations from three chief exponents of Theosophy. Says Madame Blavatsky in her "Secret Doctrine" that "the Esoteric Doctrine *like Advaitism* teaches that there exists but one infinite and unknown essence from all eternity. The occultists are at one with the Advaita Vedantins who teach that the one secondless existence is Advaita withont a second, and all the rest is Maya. There can be neither two infinites nor two Absolutes. The nearest exponent of Esoteric philosophy is the Vedanta as expounded by the Advaita Vedantins. An occultist would find much to say against (*even*) Visishtadvaitism (Mono-dualism) and so would the Advaita Vedantism. Herbert Spencer comes very near to the Esoteric and Advaitic tenet." Mrs. Annie Besant, says that "Theosophy reproduces on most points the Advaita Vedanta." Miss Edger says in her "Elements of Theosophy" that "Religion, like Philosophy, goes beyond duality to unity, the absolute, the one Reality, the unknowledge. We are reminded here of the conclusion reached by Mr. Herbert Spencer as to the unknowable." Manilal Dvivedi says in his "Advaitism or Monism" that the main conclusions of Advaitism and Monism are the same though there are some minor differences between them. The same view is expressed by Har Narain in his "Vedic Philosophy." Tripathi in his "Sketch of Vedanta Philosophy" says that the aim and end of science is to find a unit—that One out of which all these manifold phenomena are being manufactured, the One Real appearing as many. Advaita Vedanta teaches that one to be Brahman. Advaita Vedanta teaches the knowledge of the highest degree of generality, complete unified knowledge of the highest self, the universe and the self. It purposes to reveal the oneness of God, man and the universe. After reducing multiplicity to trinity, it again reduces the trinity to unity. It declares that there is in reality only one without a second, Brahman. Brahman is all in all. Whatever is, is Brahman. It appears through its association with Maya, as it were, all difference and plurality, such as the universe and the soul. But behind her appearances there is nothing but Brahman. As by knowing the source we know all that proceeds from it, so by knowing Brahman and Maya one is enabled to know all that is necessary to know about

the world and souls. Tripathi adds that Herbert Spencer draws a distinction between the unknowable and the knowable. The sentiment of a first cause, infinite and absolute, is the eternal and secure basis of all religion This unknowable is the Deity (the Brahman of the Vedanta) whom under different names and forms, the votaries of all creeds worship. When we turn to physical science, every persistent impression made upon our consciousness reveals to us an external reality, a relation, a resistance and consequently a force. The indecomposable mode of consciousness is force. All forces are manifestations of the dynamic energy (Maya Sakti) everywhere diffused, which co-ordinates the whole range of phenomena, past, present and future; an immanent and eternal energy, at once active and passive, subject to perpetual revolution and maintaining all things in an ever-changing equilibrium. But what is this dynamic energy? We know it not. Whether we analyse what passes within or without ourselves, its essence escapes us. The power which the universe manifests to us is utterly inscrutable. This is what the Advaita Vedanta calls Maya Sakti. This theory is described as an attempt to find the solution of the problem of the universe in a sole law, the persistence of force under multiform transformations. Physical forces, vital forces, mental forces, social forces are all only different manifestations of the self-same force (Maya Sakti). The whole science of things is now regarded as a single organism advancing methodically through stages of its growth in obedience to inevitable laws of self-expansion. This form-giving spiritual potency is inherent in organism. All things in the universe exist in process. It is impossible to isolate phenomena from their antecedents and their consequents. The tendency of scientific ideas, in so far as these are re-moulding thought in those high regions, is to spiritualize religion and to emancipate the individual from egotism, and bring him face to face with that universal Being (Brahman of the Advaita Vedanta) of which he is a part and to the manifestation of which he contributes a share. The Advaita Vedanta gives the knowledge respecting Reality, which is not phenomenal *i. e.*, God, the Highest Self. Jagat, the universe is revealed to us through perception, and is the subject-matter of natural science. The Advaita Vedanta has nothing to fear from research and progress of any kind, but on the contrary it will grow stronger and fuller with every advancement of true philosophy and sound science, remaining changeless amidst perpetual change and

exempt from all the influence of time, space and casuality. It allows science to supply all the premises on which its conclusions about the universe are based. It is a reasoned system of knowledge. It calls forth one's admiration in the same degree as one is able to fathom its depth. It is truly said that all the triumphs of truth and genius in every country and every age have been the triumphs of the spirit of the transcendental Advaita Vedanta doctrine, the God of which is everywhere. There is no religion from fetichism to the most exalted one, that could or might be conceived but comes under its wing. It is all-prevaiding and all-including. The true Vedantin, Tripathi concludes, has to love every good thing and hate nothing, though he has to pity many. It is his bounden duty, as long as he lives in the world. to show himself worthy of the Highest Self in him, by learning the best that is known and thought in the world, and then propagating the same, and doing what may lead all towards perfection and bliss. He must, in brief, disinterestedly try his best to make others as well as himself, better, wiser, and happier, and thus glorify Him from whom he has come and to whom he is to return at last!—AUM.

N. K. RAMASWAMY AIYA.

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ESSENTIALS OF BUDDHISM.

I.

Buddha only a Teacher.

WHAT is Buddhism? That is the question which we have to face at the threshold of our inquiry. But to this question which presents itself at the start no satisfactory answer can be given until we have reached the end of our study. We shall therefore be justified in commencing our study with a subsidiary question.

Buddhism, or, as it is indigenously called, the Dharma, is the religion founded by Gautama Buddha. What then is the position occupied by the founder in the religion he has taught? Does the Buddha claim to be a human teacher, a man among men, or is he regarded as something other than human? Does the salvation revealed by him depend solely upon individual self-help and responsibility, or does the Buddha profess to take upon himself the sins of those who proclaim themselves his followers? The *Dharmapada*, a collection of verses attributed to the Buddha, answers these questions in unmistakably clear language as follows:—

"All that we are is the result of what we have thought: it is founded on our thoughts, it is made up of our thoughts."

"By oneself evil is done; by oneself one suffers; by oneself evil is left undone; by oneself one is purified. Purity and impurity belong to oneself; no one can purify another."

"You yourself must make an effort, the Buddhas are only preachers. The thoughtful who enter the way are freed from the bondage of sin."

"He who does not rouse himself when it is time to rise, who, though young and strong, is full of sloth, whose will and thoughts are weak, that lazy and idle man will never find the way to enlightenment."

"Strenuousness is the path of immortality, sloth the path of death. Those who are strenuous do not die; those who are slothful are as if dead already."

No words can be clearer than these. The aim of the Dharma is not to give an authoritative account of the creation of the world, or of the way by which sin and death entered this world to destroy the perfect harmony of things. It offers no support or favourable

interference from supernatural agencies on behalf of man. It offers no promise of exemption from suffering and sorrow as a reward of prayer. The exalted Buddha, the Blessed one, professes to be no more than a man among men. We find him a full and perfect man among the few earnest men of the world. He does not proclaim himself a saviour who will take upon himself the sins of mankind. On the contrary he clearly declares himself a simple preacher. So far from promising to save his followers from the consequences of their misdeeds by his merits, the Blessed one declares that every one must bear the burden of his own sins, that not even a god can do for man what self-conquest and self-emancipation can accomplish. Says the *Dharmapada* :—

> He who a thousand thousand men
> Should conquer in the fight,
> And then should conquer himself alone,
> The prince of fighters he.
> Better 'tis oneself to conquer
> Than all the race beside ;
> Unto the man self-tamed,
> Ever restrained in living,—
> Neither angel nor genius, Tempter nor God,
> Can unto such a mortal
> Make victory defeat.

Though unlike supernatural religions the Dharma holds out no promise of a miraculous consolation, yet it stands out as the one religion that bids man depend upon himself; that calls upon him to elevate himself by his own efforts, to discipline and shape himself; that assures him that, if no power outside himself can come to his aid, there is also no power that can vanquish him [when once he has gained sovereignty over himself. "Buddhism is the one religion which has preached this. Philosophy, of course, has taught the same lesson, but then philosophy is not religion. Philosophy at best brings resignation, teaching men to endure the evils of life. But religion does more than this. Religion brings spiritual enthusiasm and joy, carrying men through material pains and evils, and leaving them their conquerors. And Buddhism: it has the animating enthusiasm and fervour that belong to a religion, although the system it kindles (or, as Matthew Arnold would have said, "lights up with emotion") is a system founded upon self-reliance, having its method in self-conquest and self-culture, and its goal in self-deliverance, and a refuge for man from the attacks of his own lower passions and from the evils of the world, in the "safe asylum" of an intellectual and spiritual life."

Dogma and miracle are wisdom to the Christian; kismet and fanaticism are wisdom to the Moslem; caste and ritual are wisdom to the Brahmin; asceticism and penance are wisdom to the Jain; ancestor-worship and outward piety are wisdom to the Confucian; love and purity are the first wisdom to the Buddhist. Of Buddhism alone can it be said that it has discarded all animism, that it consists in kindness and wisdom. Neither in austerities nor in ceremonies nor in kindness alone nor in wisdom alone lies the highest. To work out his salvation, the Buddhist must renounce all selfish desires and live to build up a character of which the signs are purity of heart, compassion for all, that courageous wisdom which is calm insight into truth, and that tolerance and freedom of thought which are so dissimilar to the traits of almost all other religions.

Were it possible to answer in a word the question raised at the start, we might perhaps say that Buddhism in its essence is true humanitarianism, meaning by that word, not the so-called gospel of humanity preached by Auguste Comte, but a religion which teaches the elevation of man, solely through his own efforts, to the highest pinnacle of perfection.

II.

Buddhism Non-esoteric.

"What then, Ananda, does the order expect this of me? I have preached the truth without making any distinction between exoteric and esoteric doctrine; for in respect of the Dharma, Ananda, the Tathagata has no such thing as the closed fist of a teacher who holds some things back. Surely, Ananda, should there be any one who harbours the thought, 'It is I who will lead the brotherhood,' or 'the Order is dependent on me,' it is he who should lay down instructions in any matter concerning the Order. The Tathagata thinks not, Ananda, that he should lead the Brotherhood or the Brotherhood is dependent on him. Why, then, should he leave instructions in any matter concerning the Order?

"Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye refuges to yourselves. Hold fast to the truth as a lamp. Hold fast as a refuge to the truth. Look not for refuge to any one beside yourselves.

"And whosoever, Ananda, either now or after I am dead, shall be a lamp unto themselves and a refuge unto themselves......it is

they, Ananda, among the seekers after truth (Bhikshus) who shall reach the very topmost height—but they must be anxious to learn."*

Can words be clearer and more convincing than these spoken by the Enlightened One in his last moments in contradicting the oft-repeated assertion that the Buddha taught during his life-time secrets to his favourite disciples, or left a so-called "esoteric doctrine" to be treasured and handed down among a select few, but held back from the common herd? Nor is there any justification for identifying or classing Buddhism with the various Oriental mystifications. Rightly understood Buddhism is found to be the very negation of all mystification in both religion and philosophy.

So far as we know, the Buddha is the first radical free-thinker, the first iconoclast, the first positivist, and the first and greatest prophet of religion based upon reason and knowledge. Though he had not the same detail of scientific information at his disposal as we possess today, he was still familiar with the essential problems of psychology, philosophy and religion. He saw in broad outlines the correct solution of the problem of religion. He taught a religion based upon facts to replace a religion based upon the assumptions of dogmatic belief.

The religion preached by the Buddha is the religion of enlightenment, which is but another name for wisdom and love realized in practical life. His principle of acquiring truth is to rely upon the truth itself and upon the best methods man can find of investigating the truth. This is why, as we have seen, he urged his disciples in his dying hour to rely upon their own efforts in finding the truth, not upon the Vedas, not upon the authority of others, not even upon the Great Teacher himself, and added: "Hold fast to the truth as a lamp."

III.

BUDDHA STILL ALIVE.

"When I have passed away and am no longer with you, do not think that the Buddha has left you and is not still in your midst. You have my words, my explanations of the deep things of the *Dharma*, the laws which I have laid down for the *Sangha*; let them be your guide; the Buddha has not left you."‡

* *Maha parinirvana Sutra.*

‡ *Mahaparinirvana Sutra.*

What a sad mistake do people commit in identifying the dissolution of the components of the frail frame of Gautama Siddhartha as the death of the Buddha? Being the embodiment of the eternal norms which make for righteousness, how can a Buddha die? It is not the bodily individuality that is the mark of Buddhahood. On the other hand, the man who has attained enlightenment by wisdom (*pragna*) and contemplation (*dhyana*) through the path of universal love (*dana*) and moral rectitude (*seela*) has realized his oneness with all that is. It is this feeling of oneness that constitutes the essence of Buddhahood. Can this be seen with the eye or heard with the ear? It is therefore said in the *Vajrachedika*: "He who looks for me, *i. e.*, for the true Tathagata, through any material form, or seeks me through any audible sound, that man has entered on an erroneous course, and shall never behold Tathagata." "If there be any man who speaks of Tathagata as coming or going, sitting or sleeping, that man is ignorant of the secret of the system I declare. And why? Because Tathagata has nowhere whence to come, and nowhere whither to go; and therefore he is named Tathagata."

Once upon a time Drona, a Brahmana, seeing the Blessed One sitting at the foot of a tree, asked him: "Are you a *deva*?" And the exalted one answered: "I am not." "Are you a *Gandharva*?" —"I am not." "Are you a *Yaksha*?"—"I am not." "Are you a man?"—"I am not a man." On the Brahmana asking what then he might be, the Blessed One replied. "Those evil influences, those lusts, whose non-destruction would have individualised me as a *Deva*, a *Gandharva*, a *Yaksha*, or a man I have completely annihilated. Know, therefore, O! Brahmana, that I am a Buddha." The practical lesson of this ancedote is obvious. According to Hindu ideas a *Deva*, a *Gandharva*, a *Yaksha* could assume a human form. It was therefore natural for the Brahmana to ask if the being in human form before him was a *Deva*, a *Gandharva*, or a *Yaksha*. But what perplexed him was that he received a negative answer to each of his questions, and this led him to his general question. Buddha's answer was clear. What was of importance in his eyes was not his form (*rupa*) but his character (*nama*), the embodiment in life of the ideas of love and wisdom, summed up in the word *bodhi*. It is no wonder therefore that the personality that dominates Buddhism is not Sakya Simha, but the Buddha.

IV.

THE BUDDHA NOT MYTHICAL.

"Who say you see me, and yet have transgressed the *Dharma*, are not seen by me, but are as though you were distant ten thousand miles, whereas the man who keeps the Dharma dwells ever in my sight."

So taught the Enlightened One, indicating thereby that what is of prime importance is not the personality of the teacher but the living in accordance with the Dharma. Indeed the personality of the teacher is not without value. In so far as that personality is a practical embodiment of the teaching, it serves as a model for the disciple to imitate and follow. But the teaching does not rest for its validity on any miracle or any special event in the life of the founder of Buddhism as is the case in many another religion. Should the events in the life of Gautama Buddha turn out to be unhistorical, that would not detract in the least from the merit of his teachings. As the Blessed One himself has said, the teaching carries with it its own demonstration.

Stripped of legendary embellishments, the principal events in the life of Gautama Buddha are easily told. He was born about the middle of the sixth century before Christ in Lumbini Park in the neighbourhood of Kapilavastu (modern Padeira, north of the district of Gorakpur). To mark this spot as the birthplace of the greatest teacher of mankind and as a token of his reverence for him, King Asoka, the greatest native ruler of India, erected in 329 B. C. a pillar bearing the inscription: "Here was the Enlightened One born." At Kapilavastu resided the chiefs of the Sakya clan, of whom little would have been remembered, had not Siddartha been born among them. Gautama's father Sudhodhana, and his mother Maya, the daughter of Anjana, belonged to this clan. The mother of Siddartha died seven days after his birth. Under the kind care of his step-mother his early years were spent in ease, luxury, and culture. No pains were spared to make the course of his life smooth. At the age of sixteen he was married to his cousin, Yasodhara, the daughter of the chief of Koli, and they had a son named Rahula. For twenty-five years Siddartha saw the beautiful and pleasant only. About this time the sorrows and sufferings of mankind affected him deeply and made him reflect on the problem of life. Impelled by a

strong desire to find the origin of suffering and sorrow and the means of extirpating them, he renounced at the age of twenty-nine all family ties and retired to the forest.

After this great renunciation he placed himself under the spiritual guidance of two renowned Brahmana teachers. Dissatisfied with their teachings he left them and retired to a thicket in the vicinity of Gaya in Magadha. There for six years he practised the most severe ascetic penances, but found that this method, instead of leading him to the goal he sought, brought about an enfeeblement of the body and the intellect. Giving up therefore all ascetic practices and eating and drinking to satisfy the needs of the body, he entered upon a course of contemplation and reflection, trusting to his own reason and the light which each one of us carries within himself to attain the truth. One night, while sitting in deep meditation under a fig tree (ficus religiosa), a sudden illumination came to him, the consciousness of true insight possessed him: the light to discern the mistaken ways of the faith that then obtained; and the knowledge of the sources whence earthly suffering flowed, and of the ways that led to its annihilation. He saw the cause of suffering; he saw that the way of escape from suffering lay in the attainment of the ten perfections (*paramitas.*) With the discernment of this grand truth he became enlightened, he became a Buddha. It was his own work—not the work of an *Isvara* or any God.

Now came the most critical moment in the life of the Blessed One. After many struggles he perceived the most profound truths, truths teeming with meaning but comprehensible only by the wise, truths fraught with blessings but difficult to discern by ordinary minds. Mankind were worldly and hankering for pleasures. Could they comprehend the law of causality, the law of concatenation of of causes and effects in the moral world? Could they rid themselves of the animistic idea of a soul and grasp the true nature of man? Could they understand the final state of peace, the quenching of all worldly cravings—*nirvana*? Would it be advisable for him in these circumstances to preach to all mankind the truths he had discovered? Might not failure bring about exhaustion and pain? Such questions and doubts arose in his mind, and he felt disposed to rest for ever in peace. But soon the thought occurred to him that he had freed himself from the delusion that "This is mine." There was nothing in life worth living for for oneself. He who had

abandoned all selfishness must live for others. What could be a better way of living for others than to show them the path of attaining perfect bliss? He thus made the firm resolve to preach to all mankind the eternal truths he had discovered.

With this firm resolve he proceeded to Benares, proclaimed himself a bringer of salvation, and preached his first sermon, which, from the fact of its being the first sermon with which the preaching of the Dharma began, is called the *Dharmachakrapravartana Sutra* (setting in motion the wheel of Dharma). The subject of it was the eight-fold path leading to the blessedness of *nirvana*. When he had made sixty disciples, he sent them in different directions to preach the Dharma and make converts. He himself soon made a thousand new disciples by the conversion of three leading ascetics, all brothers, with all their following. To these he preached on a hill near Gaya his so-called "fire sermon," in which he explained that "all burnt" with the fires of lust, hatred and ignorance. From Gaya followed by his numerous disciples he proceeded to Rajagriha, the capital of Magadha. Bimbisara, king of Magadha, became a lay disciple and presented his pleasure garden (*Veluvana*) as a dwelling place for the ordained homeless disciples of the great teacher. A much more important event connected with the Blessed One's stay at Rajagriha is the conversion of Sariputra and Maudgalayana, both pupils of the wandering monk Sanjaya. These joined Buddha with their two hundred and fifty followers.

During his active life as a teacher, the Blessed One made many converts. High and low, rich and poor, educated and illiterate, Brahmanas and Chandalas, Jainas and Ajeevakas, householders and ascetics, Hindus and heretics, robbers and cannibals, nobles and peasants, men and women—all classes and conditions of men furnished him with many disciples, both ordained and lay. Some of his close kith and kin also became his followers. Anuruddha, Ananda and Devadatta were all his cousins. Anuruddha became famous as a philosopher, Ananda was Buddha's constant companion and personal attendant, and Devadatta became notorious by attempting to found a new sect of his own with severer rules than those prescribed by the Buddha. Among the many patrons and benefactors of the Buddha no name handed down to posterity is more famous than that of the rich merchant of Sravashti, Anathapindika (the supporter of the orphans), who bought at an enormous price a

magnificent park from prince Jeta, and built there a splendid residence for the Buddha and his ordained disciples. Visakha, a wealthy woman of Sravashti, was the first to become a matron of the lay sisters. Ambapali, a rich courtesan of Vesali, presented her stately mansion to the Buddha in his last days.

The manner in which the Enlightened One ordinarily spent each day was very simple. He used to rise up early, wash and dress himself without assistance. He would then meditate in solitude till it was time to go on his round for a meal. When the time arrived, he would, dressing himself suitably, with his bowl in hand, alone or attended by some disciples, visit the neighbouring town or village. After finishing his meal in some house, he would discourse on the Dharma to the host and his family with due regard to their capacity for spiritual enlightenment, return to his lodgings, and wait in the open verandah to see that all his followers had finished their meal. He would then retire to his private apartment, and, after suggesting subjects for thought to some of his disciples, take a short rest during the heat of the day. In the afternoon he would meet the folk from the neighbouring villages or town assembled in the lecture hall, and discourse to them on the Dharma in a manner appropriate to the occasion and suited to their proclivities. Then, at the close of the day, after refreshing himself with a bath when necessary, he would explain difficulties or expound the doctrine to some of his disciples thus spending the first watch of the night. Part of the remainder he would spend in meditation walking up and down outside his chamber, and the other part in sleeping in his chamber. During the nine months of good weather, the Buddha was wont to go from place to place walking from fifteen to twenty miles a day. This may account to some extent for the vigorous health the Blessed One enjoyed and the ripe old age to which he lived.

In his last preaching tour he came to the town of Pava, and there in the house of Chunda, a worker in metals, he had his last repast. After this he became ill, and moved to Kusinara in the eastern part of Nepalese Terai, where he died at the ripe age of eighty about 477 B. C. His last words were: "Decay is inherent in all things that exist. Seek wisdom and work out your salvation with diligence."

Such is, stripped of the fanciful additions of a pious posterity, the life of the founder of Buddhism. How much of it is real history is rather difficult to say. But as to the historicity of the founder

himself there can be no doubt. As Minayeff remarks in his *Recherches sur le Buddhisme*, it is beyond doubt that grand historical personalities always appear specially at the commencement of great historic movements, and certainly it has been so in the history of Buddhism, and we cannot contest that its development also began with the work of a founder. There are some Orientalists like M. Emil Senart, who, while not altogether denying the existence of historic Buddha, still try to make out that the few historic elements are so much encrusted with mythical outgrowths that it is almost impossible to determine the former with certainty. "It is necessary," says M. Senart in his *Essai sur la Legende des Buddha*, "to recognise that, on the whole, excepting a few authentic souvenirs which easily slip through our fingers, the legend of Buddha represents not a real life, nor even a life coloured with fanciful inventions, but it is essentially the poetical glorification of a mythological and divine type that popular veneration has fixed as an aureole on the head of a perfectly human, perfectly real founder of a sect."

Examining this view of M. Senart, Dr. Ernst Windisch writes in his *Mara und Buddha*: "When we consider how long he (Gautama Buddha) lived, how far he travelled, how well known he must have been to his contemporaries; when we further consider how old certain texts, at least parts of the *Vinayapitaka*, are, it is certainly not uncritical to regard as historical what seems to be a historical reality. This is more in accordance with the historic method, than to regard the simple narrative of the life and events of the time as the transfiguration of a myth into ordinary life. Besides, this process must have been effected in a tolerably short time. For, against M. Senart's assertion that the mythical tendency can be traced back to the earliest days of Buddhism, I venture to point out that in the oldest Buddhist literature we meet only with such tendencies as are generally characteristic of ordinary life, persons and events, in which no impartial observer can find any trace of a myth. To the historical events which, according to M. Senart, can have only a mythical meaning, belongs above all the tradition that the Buddha attained the highest wisdom under a *nyagrodha* tree." The same writer notices in passing the view put forward by Dr. Kern that the Buddha of the legend is the sun and that the legend may be taken as perfectly true if we regard it as a mythical transformation of astronomical phenomena, and disposes of it with the remark that

Dr. Kern's remarkable knowledge of astronomy enables him to see stars twinkling in regions where there is not the smallest ground for any such assumption.

Whatever may be the verdict of historic criticism on the details of the life of Gautama Buddha, there can be no doubt that among the founders of religions he occupies a marked place. "Than Buddha," says even St. Hilaire, who has no end of charges against Buddhism, " there is, with the sole exception of the Christ, no purer nor more touching figure among the founders of religions. His life is without blemish; he is the finished model of heroism, the self-renunciation, the love, the sweetness he commands." But the impartial philosophic critic finds that Gautama Buddha is greater than the founders of all other religions by his life, by his personal character, by the methods of propagandism he employed, and by his final success. The Blessed one, though born of an aristocratic and ruling class, lived the life of an ordinary man, discarding the narrow distinctions of caste, rank and wealth. He knew the world. He was son, husband, father and devoted friend. He was veritably a man. His teaching was perfect, but never pretended to be a supernatural revelation He did not doubt the capacity of man to understand the truth. He based all his reasoning on the fact of our existence and developed his practical philosophy by the observation and minute study of human personality. Among the world's teachers the Buddha alone has the glory of having rightly judged the intrinsic greatness of man's capacity to work out unaided his own salvation. If "the worth of a truly great man consists in his raising the worth ol all mankind," who else can be called truly great if it is not the founder of Buddhism, who, instead of degrading man by placing another being over him, has exalted him to the highest pinnacle of wisdom and love?

Even the legends which enshroud the life of the Tathagatha are not without significance to the unbiassed thinker. They set before him a truly admirable figure: a man of quiet majesty, of wisdom and pleasant humour, full of tenderness for all beings, overcoming evil with good, of perfect balance and moral freedom, exempt from every prejudice. "When surrounded by all his retinue of followers, and glorified by the whole world, he never thought 'these privileges are mine'; but went on doing good, just as the shower brings gladness, yet reflects not on its work." The Burmese relate

that, hearing all people singing his praises, the Blessed One called Ananda and said: "All this is unworthy of me. No such vain homage can accomplish the commands of the Dharma. They who do righteously pay me most honour, and please me most."

Many of the legends, the so-called birth stories, represent the Buddha as having voluntarily endured infinite trials through numberless ages and births, that he might deliver mankind; forgoing the right to enter *nirvana* and casting himself again and again into the stream of human life and destiny for the single purpose of teaching the true way of liberation from sorrow and misery. The ideal of persistent energy thus held before the disciple is intensely human, and serves as a pattern and guide for him. He can take the Buddha as his model, and the recollection of his heroic and saintly life will assist him to become a hero and a saint. In his unbounded love for all beings Sakyamuni stands unparalleled. And it is not a poetic fancy, but a profound and philosophic truth that makes him the best

"Who loveth best
All things both great and small."

V.

BUDDHISM RATIONALISTIC.

"Do not believe in what you have heard; do not believe in traditions because they have been handed down for many generations; do not believe in anything because it is rumoured and spoken of by many; do not believe because the written statement of some old sage is produced; do not believe in conjectures; do not believe merely on the authority of your teachers and elders. After observation and analysis, when it agrees with reason and is conducive to the good and benefit of one and all, then accept it and live up to it.*

These exhortatory words addressed by the Exalted Teacher to Kalama remind one of a similar exhortation by the sage of Konigsberg. Says Imanuel Kant: "Friends of mankind and of all that is holy to man, accept whatever, after a careful and honest inquiry, you regard to be most noteworthy, be it facts or rational arguments, but do not contest the prerogative of reason which makes it the highest good upon earth, *viz.*, to be the ultimate criterion of truth. Otherwise you will be unworthy of your liberty and lose it without fail."

* Kalama Sutra, Anguttara Nikaya.

In its essence rational, the human mind can find no satisfaction till everything, however venerable it may be, has passed unscathed through the crucible of reason. All attempts to establish the higher validity of something other than reason, such as revelation, dogma, or custom, involve reasoning and argument, and therefore necessarily presuppose reason to be the supreme arbiter. If reason does not give validity to custom or revelation, what does it? Is it the will to believe? The will to believe is the will to hold that thing certain which one feels to be uncertain. It says: "This thing seems to my best intelligence doubtful; but I will subject my mind to such a course of treatment; I will so tempt and beguile it by pressing this one matter for its credence and withholding rivals; I will so hypnotise it by keeping its gaze on this one brilliant object, that I shall presently find myself reposing in the peaceable possession of a full belief." The will to believe is therefore the will to deceive, first to deceive oneself and then naturally others. It is only a euphonious name for hypocrisy, which may be good for the church, but not for religion. Is it then accident or chance? If so, we are landed not in religion, but in the worst form of pyrrhonism, which will make all thought, knowledge and action impossible. He who smites reason to the ground will help universal doubt rather than religion. Nor can any religion be permanent which relies solely upon the dogmatic, the emotional and the ceremonial, and is not based upon rational convictions.

Taking therefore as his fundamental maxim that nothing is to be accepted which is not consonant with reason and experience, the Blessed One rejects as worthless all recourse to revelation and authority for deciding between truth and falsehood. The frequent citation of the "holy" words of their Vedas by the Brahmans in support of their beliefs is regarded by the Buddha not as indicative of faith but as the mere repetition of the words of others. "It is as if a number of blind men were leading one another; the first one does not see; neither does the middle one see; nor does the last see." The old Vedic poets and sages, who, "enwrapt in fog and flood of words, went on the stump for a livelihood"* were unable to judge between truth and falsehood. And the faith of the Brahmans who merely echo the words of their sages and walk in their footsteps without any warrant for their beliefs, is vain. Only those who know the truth and realise it in their lives can be said to possess the truth.

* Rig Veda, X, 82.

The Enlightened One draws a distinction between "the mere reception of the truth" and "the knowledge of the truth." Just as a spoon holding honey knows not the flavour of what it holds, so does a man who has simply received the truth with a believing heart. On the other hand, the knowledge of the truth involves both a subjective and an objective element, and therefore possesses two criteria. Firstly, he alone can know the truth whose mind is free from prejudice and passion. Secondly, truth never lies on the surface, and therefore needs pains to dive below the surface, and grasp it. Higher than knowing the truth is its internal appropriation, the practical realization of the truth through suitable training and development of one's intellectual and moral powers, the acquirement of enlightenment by investigation and contemplation coupled simultaneously with moral rectitude and love for all creatures.

The authoritative acceptance of doctrine or dogma can as little lead to enlightenment, to that spiritual comprehension which alone can bring about freedom from sorrow, as the mere writing on the sand of the words "come hither" would make the bank of a river move from one side to the other. Can wailings, exhortations, supplications, prayers make the opposite bank come hither? Can a slave mounting up to the place from which a king has addressed his retinue and repeating the same words become a king? No, never.

Founded on the firm rock of experience and reason, Buddhism requires nothing to be taken on trust without inquiry. It does not ask one to believe in order to understand. To no question does it answer: "It is believable because it is so absurd; it is true, because it is so impossible." Though one should not blindly believe, yet one should cultivate faith (*Sraddha*). By faith is meant not belief in something which is irrational and absurd, not belief in creeds and dogmas, not the determination to be satisfied with unproved and unwarranted statements, but the conviction that truth can be found. While reason enables man to arrange and systematise knowledge so as to construct truth, faith gives him determination to be true to his convictions and ideals. Faith becomes superstition when it parts company with reason, and worse still when it fronts it hostilely in flat contradiction, but reason without faith would make of man a machine without enthusiasm for his ideals. Reason seeks disinterestedly to realise right order where it is not, but faith gives character and strength of will to break through the five hindrances of lust,

malice, mental sloth, spiritual pride and doubt. While reason rejoices in the truths it has already found, faith helps it onward to further conquests, to aspire after the attainment of what has not yet been attained, to work strenuously for the realisation of what has not yet been realised. It is faith that transforms cold, abstract rationalism into a religion of fervent hope and love. The Blessed One says :—

> "By faith one crosses over the stream,
> By strenuousness the sea of life;
> By steadfastness all grief he stills,
> By wisdom is he purified."

People fancy that they can look for Buddhism in books and scriptures. It is no doubt true that the Buddhists all over the world possess scriptures, called the Tripitaka, which are claimed to contain the words of the Great Teacher. But ever since the earliest times, the Buddhist brotherhood has been divided into many schools and sects. Even at the present time, the Buddhists may be classified into three groups: (1) the Southern, who abide in Ceylon, Burma, Siam and Anam; (2) the Northern, who live in Tibet, China, Manchuria, Mongolia, and Siberia; and (3) the Eastern, who are found in Japan and Formosa. The Southern Buddhists follow the Hinayana or the Lesser Vehicle; the Northerns are Lamaistic and highly ritualistic; and the Easterns are followers of the Mahayana or the Greater Vehicle. And the Tripitaka of the Hinayanikas is not the same as that of the Mahayanikas. Which of these schools then has really preserved the words of the Teacher? There is only one way out of the difficulty, and that is the one pointed out by *Siksha-samucchaya*: *Yad kin chid Subashitam tad sarvam Buddhabhashitam.* "Whatsoever is spoken rightly and is free from error, that is the teaching of the Buddha; nothing can be the teaching of the Buddha, which does not conform to reason." Such was also the dictum of the Council of Vesali which met a hundred years after the death of the Buddha to settle the disputes between the eighteen rival sects into which the Buddhist community had become split up.

Really speaking, there is only one way (*Yana*) shown by the Buddha to the *summum bonum*, and that is the way of reason (*tatvayana*), but from a practical point of view one may distinguish three means. These means are, in plain language, piety, philosophy, and striving for the welfare of one's fellow-creatures. These are

respectively designated by the terms *Sravakayana*, *Pratyekabuddha-yana*, and *Bodhisatvayana*. Higher than simple piety (that of the Sravaka or Upasaka) is the true and self-acquired knowledge of the eternal laws (that of the Pratyekabuddha or Arhat); higher than this knowledge is the devotion of oneself to the spiritual elevation of others (the devotion of the Bodhisatva). The highest unity which embraces all these three is that of the *Samyak sambuddha*, who like Gautama Buddha himself, becomes the universal teacher of the world. That such is the manner in which the so-called vehicles are to be understood is shown by the parable in the *Sad-dharmapundarikam* (the Lotus of the Good Law) of a man who, seeing his house on fire and his children playing unconcernedly within it, induces them to come out by the promise of toys. Thus the Tathagata is the father who sees his children playing in the consuming fire of worldliness and employs different expedients to bring them out of his burning house and lead them to the safe haven of *nirvana*.

It would be no difficult matter for one who knows human nature to understand some of the popular phases of Buddhism, such as the reverence paid to the relics of the founder and his images and the frequent invocation of the name of *Amitabha* (the boundless light). As the Chinese pilgrim Itsing remarks: "There is no higher road to perfect understanding than meditation on the four sacred truths. But the meaning of the truths is so profound that it is a matter beyond the comprehension of vulgar minds, while the ablution of the holy image is practicable to all. Though the great teacher has entered *nirvana*, yet his image exists, and we should worship it with zeal as though in his very presence. Those who constantly offer incense and flowers to it are enabled to purify their thoughts, and those who frequently bathe this image are enabled to overcome their sins that involve them in darkness." In this there is no implication of grace, of providence, of recompense effected by a god, or of succour furnished by a saviour. On the other hand, such a notion is categorically discarded by all Buddhists. *Sukhasya dukkasya no kopi data paro dadatiti kubuddhir esha*: it is a foolish idea to suppose that another can cause us happiness or sorrow. So says the commentator of the *Bodhicharyavatara*. The result of devotion is purely subjective, and is independent of the object worshipped. Similarly says Nagasena in *Milindaprasna*: "Men by

offering reverence to the relics and the jewel treasure of the wisdom of the Tathagata, though he has died away, and accept it not, cause goodness to arise within them, and by that assuage and allay the torment of the threefold fire." Devotion is beneficial and salutary, because it favours humility and destroys the sentiment of self.

Again, in what spirit the Buddhist invokes the name of Amida is revealed by the following quotation from a leaflet published by the Buddhist Propagation Society of Japan. "Rejecting all religious austerities and other action, giving up all the idea of self-power, we rely upon Amita Buddha with the whole heart for our salvation in the future life, which is the most important thing: believing that at the moment of putting our faith in Amita Buddha our salvation is settled. From that moment the invocation of his name is observed to express gratitude and thankfulness for Buddha's mercy; moreover, being thankful for the reception of this doctrine from the founder and succeeding chief priests whose teachings were so benevolent and as welcome as light in a dark night. We must ever keep the laws which are fixed for our duty during our whole life." All cult of adoration is antagonistic to the most elementary principles of Buddhism. *Hitasamsanamatrena Buddhapuja visishyate*:* It is by the practice of good deeds we render to Buddha the most perfect adoration.

Further, a sad mistake is committed in identifying the Buddhist vows of taking refuge (*trisarana*) in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha with what is ordinarily called prayer. In Buddhism there is no prayer in the proper sense of the word. What approaches to prayer is the *Mahapranidhana* of the Buddhist which is no begging, but a self-discipline producing only subjective results. No more is expected of it than what Kant has called the natural effects of prayer, among which we count that the dark and confused ideas present in the mind are either clarified, or that they receive a higher degree of intensity, or that the motives of a virtue receive greater efficacy.

Rationality and sanity are in evidence in all points of Buddhism. The Buddha does not claim superiority by virtue of any transcendental peculiarity of his nature, surpassing everything terrestrial. On the other hand, he has become a Buddha by a course of moral preparation and by the acquirement of the necessary knowledge, which

* Bodhicharyavatara I, 27.

it is in the power of every mortal to attain by a severe struggle. The Buddha did not say: "Yust must not trust to yourselves. You must depend wholly on me. You cannot be righteous except through a power implanted in you from above"; but he has repeated times without number: "You must trust to yourselves. You can take nothing from me. You must be righteous through your own efforts. You have to depend on yourselves for the final getting rid of all selfishness and hence all suffering."

Another result of its rationality is its attitude towards miracles and wonders. That in Buddhism which recognises no supernatural God there can be no miraculous interference from outside nature needs no special proof. Nevertheless, the legend contains accounts of the concurrence of wonderful natural phenomena, such as earthquakes, with events of extraordinary ethical significance. But under no circumstances is a disciple of the Blessed One permitted to work miracles or boast of supernatural powers to raise himself in the esteem of others. On one occasion some of his adherents entreated the Buddha to permit his missionaries to work wonders, as that would elevate them in the eyes of others. The Buddha replied as follows: "There are three kinds of miracles. The first is the miracle of power, in which extraordinary power is manifested, as in walking on water, exorcising devils, raising the dead and so forth. When the believer sees such things his faith may become deepened, but it would not convince the unbeliever, who would think that these things are done by the aid of magic. I therefore see a danger in such miracles, and I regard them as repulsive and shameful. The second is the miracle of prophecy, such as thought-reading, soothsaying, fortune-telling &c. Here also there would be disappointment, for these too in the eyes of the unbeliever would be no better than extraordinary magic. The third is the miracle of instruction. When any of my disciples brings round a man by instruction to rightly employ his intellectual and ethical powers, that is the true miracle." Thus did the Blessed One without denying the possibility of all miracles forbid all other mircles than those of conversion wrought by argument and instruction.

The benign tolerance of Buddhism is the most marked result of its rationality. Of Buddhism alone can it be said that it never persecuted anywhere. The Hindus make a vain boast of their persecution of the Buddhists and the Jains. Islam was perpetuated

by bloodshed and persecution. Christianity has cost two thousand years of war, persecution, inquisition and oceans of human lives and money. Buddhism civilized the savage millions of the most populous parts of Asia without the aid of Maxim guns and howitzers. Nowhere in the Buddhist books do we find such sentiments as are breathed by the following: "But those mine enemies which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me." "And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words...... it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of Judgment than for them." "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire." Compare with these the words of the Blessed One in the *Lotus*: "The strength of charity is my abode; the apparel of forbearance is my robe; and voidness is my seat; let (the preacher) take his stand on this and preach. Where clods, sticks, pikes, or abusive words, threats fall to the lot of the preacher, let him be patient thinking of me." The model placed before the Buddhist preacher is Purna, an emancipated slave, who, when informed of the perils of his enterprise to preach the Dharma to a wild tribe, answered: "When I am reproached, I shall think within myself that these are certainly good people since they do not beat me. If they begin to beat me with fists, I shall think they are mild and good, because they do not beat me with clubs. If they proceed to this, I shall think that they are excellent, for they do not strike me dead. If they kill me, I shall die saying: 'How good they are in freeing me from this miserable body.'

Not only has Buddhism taught that knowledge without love is barren, but this teaching has been so consistently carried out in practice as even to endanger its own existence. It has shrunk from inflicting pain, even in self-defence or as a punishment. It has deprecated war between nation and nation. It has constantly discouraged capital punishment. It inculcates an affection for all orders of being. It has sought everywhere to abolish bloody sacrifices. Nowhere in the life of the Buddha do we meet with the

drowning of pigs in the sea by handing them over to devils exorcised from men or the cursing of fig trees for not bearing fruit out of season. Buddhism alone breathes a spirit of unbounded generosity and compassion for all life. The scope of the work accomplished by this rational religion cannot be better summed up than in the words of Koeppen :—

"It put spiritual brotherhood in place of hereditary priesthood; personal merit in place of distinctions of birth; human intelligence in place of authoritative Vedas; the self-perfected sage in place of the gods of the old theology; morality in place of ritualism; a popular doctrine of righteousness in place of scholasticism; a monastic rule in place of isolated anchoret life; and a cosmopolitan spirit in place of the old national exclusiveness."

P. LAKSHMI NARASU.

(To be continued.)

THE INDIAN CASTES.

CASTES are hereditary classes into which the Hindu society is broken up and which are perpetually isolated from one another by prohibition of intermarriage and by being shut out from various channels of social intercourse, such as interdining. Broadly speaking, castes have sprung up by association of people by kinship, common race, common domicile or common profession, such association being perpetuated by family or racial pride or professional interests. Thus in India all communities separated from others by distinction of race, change or distance of domicile, difference of language, religion or profession, by expulsion for breach of rules of usage or for other cause,—have become crystallized into hereditary, racial, sectarian or professional classes—that never fuse or merge into another but break up like crystals into small classes. This process of crystallization of classes into castes is a subject of unfailing interest, and though much has been written on it, there is yet much to be said on it, or it can be treated from fresh points of view.

Castes in India have many points of resemblance with various classes in ancient and mediæval European nations, in ancient Egypt, and in Palestine among the Jews. But the points of distinction between them must not be lost of, whether in their character or history. In ancient Ireland there was a class of priests called *Brehons*, who were the hereditary depositories of the religion and law of the country. But on the conversion of the Irish by St. Patrick and his companions, the sacerdotal authority of the *Brehons* passed to a celibate clergy and monks recruited from every rank of life. The *Druids* of the ancient British held the same position and met the same fate as the Brehons. Both in ancient Ireland and Britain we find an hereditary aristocracy; but this aristocracy could be recruited by the king from the people by grants of land or cattle, or rewards for meritorious services in war. Acquisition of wealth also raised a commoner into the grades of aristocracy. For instance, in ancient Ireland, the *Aires* or noblemen were graded according to their wealth from the *Air-desas* or knights upwards. A commoner who acquired twice as much wealth as an *Air-desa* was regarded as an *Air-desa*. In ancient Rome, the aristocracy called *Patricians* were a hereditary, privileged order separated

from the plebs, but there soon arose from among the people a new aristocracy born of wealth and military prowess, which amalgamated with the ancient Patricians; and out of this fusion rose the *optimates*. The later Roman aristocracy always recruited its forces from the plebs, and was therefore never exclusive. In Germany of old there was a class called *Goti*, or born of gods, a priestly order who lay claim to a high birth like the Brahmans. In the Middle Ages in Europe we trace the *Estates* or privileged orders of chiefs, princes, nobles and the clergy, raised far above the citizens or middle class and the common people. This aristocracy tended always to become hereditary and exclusive, but there was never a time when the king did not recruit the nobility from the lower classes by raising men for eminent services to the state especially in war. The Christian clergy, a highly privileged order, could not claim a divine descent, but rested their claims to special privileges from divine institution. The order of priests was however in one sense a very democratic institution, in that it opened its portals to the fittest from every rank of society, and it stood always between the lowest classes such as serfs and slaves, and the higher classes, as the protector and saviour of the former; and to the Church and its priests must be attributed the emancipation of the serfs and slaves in Europe. On the contrary, the influence of Brahminism has always been to keep the lower classes in ignorance and poverty. Social ranks in Egypt were divided somewhat sharply into three higher classes, namely, (1) the aristocracy who were mostly landed proprietors possessing large estates and having under them a vast body of dependants, servants, artizans, etc.; (2) the official class, and (3) the literary class. Below these three classes were the people engaged in manual labour of various kinds, which were looked down upon by the higher classes. "Still the line of demarcation," remarks Professor Rawlinson in his *Story of Ancient Egypt*, "decided as it was, might be crossed. It is an entire mistake to suppose that caste existed in Egypt. Men frequently bred up their sons to their own trade or profession, as they do in all countries, but they were not obliged to do so—three was absolutely no compulsion in the matter. The public schools of Egypt were open to all comers, and the son of the artizan sat on the same bench with the son of the noble, enjoyed the same education, and had an equal opportunity of distinguishing himself. If he showed sufficient promise, he was recommended to adopt the literary life, and the literary life was a

sure passport to state employment. State employment once entered upon, merit secured advancement, and thus there was in fact no obstacle to prevent the son of a labouring man from rising to the very highest positions in the administration of the empire. Successful ministers were usually rewarded by large grants of land from the royal domain; and it follows that a clever youth of the labouring class might by good conduct and ability make his way even into the ranks of the landed aristocracy."

Turning to the Israelites, we find that out of the twelve tribes only one, that of Levi, was especially selected by Moses for service in the temple, and out of this tribe of Levi only the house of Aaron selected for priesthood. The Levites and priests were allowed no share in the territorial division of Palestine; but were to live on the offerings of the people in the temple and the tithes. The house of Aaron did not enjoy the prerogative bestowed on it without a challenge from a powerful section of the Israelites. For, soon after the institution of priesthood, a revolt of two hundred and fifty men, partly of the tribe of Ruben and partly of the tribe of Levi, was led by Core against Aaron for what they called arrogating the priestly office to himself. The revolt was, we know, put down by divine intervention. From this time the priesthood continued undisturbed in the family of Aaron, the rest of the tribe of Levi attending to the services of the temple outside the tabernacle. The priests of the house of Aaron were prohibited from "mingling the stock of their kindred with the common people of their nation" (Lev. XXI). Their daughters however could be married into families of the common people, subject only to the penalty of losing the right of eating the first fruits or sanctified things (Lev. XXII). Apart from this restriction of intermarriage between the priestly families and the common people, we do not discover in the Jewish nation any other restriction in social intercourse by intermarriage or interdining among their tribes. But the Israelites, in their relation to the surrounding tribes, were an exclusive caste in the matter of marriage as well as in that of taking food. This exclusiveness lasted even at the time of Christ. As an instance of it we might mention the great excitement created among the Christian Jews when St. Peter received Cornelius, a Roman centurion, into the church and ate with him. "Why didst go to men uncircumcised and didst eat with them" they asked St. Peter. The first Pope explained how "God gave them the same grace as to us also, who believe in Lord Jesus Christ."

While a hereditary priestly class was being formed on the banks of the Jordan, a similar process was going on, on the banks of the Indus, where, about 2000 years before Christ, the Aryans had settled. The Aryans were sharply divided from the aboriginal tribes whom they had conquered and whom they called *Dasyus*. This term, which originally meant people or tribes, was applied by the Aryans to the conquered Dravidian or Turanian tribes—a flat-nosed and dark skinned people who ate raw meat, offered no sacrifices and were dangerous sorcerers, as they are described in the *Rigveda*. The Aryans reduced these Dasyus to slavery or serfdom, and like the Helots of Sparta, the word "Dasyus" came to mean slaves or serfs, The distinction between the Aryans and Dasyus corresponded to that between the rulers and Helots of Sparta between whom intercourse of any sort was impossible, the modern Hindu distinction between the *twice-born* and the *non-castes* and the distinction between the *Whites* and *Negroes* in the United States. The mass of the Aryans were called *Visas or Vaisya*, and as they were mostly occupied in agriculture and trade, the term was gradually applied to those who followed these professions. The warriors and chiefs called *Rajayanas* or *Kshatriyas*, and the conductors of Brahma or prayers were called *Brahmans*. During the early Vedic period, it is believed,* there were classes, shifting, but not hereditary, pursuing these professions. Not only that, we find that the Aryan tribes themselves were engaged in a fearful civil war during the Vedic times, and some of the tribes allied with the hated Dasyus having Vishvamitra, one of the Rishis as their priest, fought against the Aryan Sudas with Vasistha as their priest (*Rigveda* vii, 83). Vishvamitra, be it noted, was not originally a Brahmin, but obtained that rank by superhuman feats of asceticism. Vishvamitra in his hymns (*Rigveda* iii). calls his allies Bharatas, and praises them as wise. Evidently we have here an instance of the adoption of a non-Aryan tribe into the Aryan stock.

The first idea of division between the Aryans and the Hinduised non-Aryans into hereditary classes or professions is found in the following lines in the *Rigveda*,—

"When the gods divided Purusha, into how many parts did they cut him up? What was his mouth? What his arms? What his thighs and feet? The Brahmin was his mouth; Rajanya was made from his arms: the Vaisya was his thigh; the Shudra sprang from his feet."

* Wilson's *Indian Castes*, and Ragozan's *Vediç India*.

Here is a description which indicates the hereditary nature, relation and character of each of the professions. The tenth book of the Rigveda was a later production, and marks the development that had taken place in society since the first hymns of the *Vedas* were written. We would not however go so far with Dr. Wilson and others who have adopted his opinion, as to hold that the priestly class had not yet become hereditary and exclusive. Even the Brehons of ancient Ireland, the Druids of Britain, the Goti of Germany, and the Jewish priests were in the most ancient times hereditary communities. In ancient India too, in the Vedic times, we have indications of an elaborate religious ritual, which required a separate class of educated men to master and conduct. There must therefore have arisen a class of men who had the monopoly of the knowledge of the ritual or the rubrics called the *Brahmanas*; and as their intricate and elaborate details were not yet reduced to writing, and had to be committed to memory and handed down from generation to generation, there arose an *hereditary* class of priests. In fact the *charanas* above described were a hereditary class of priests, who handed down *shakas* of the Vedas by strings of rules called the *sutras*. On account of the eminent sanctity attached to these priests, their intercourse with the other classes, especially the common people, gradually ceased. They yet condescended to take maidens from lower classes in marriage. These marriages were however regarded as *mesalliances* though not illegal unions. Their girls however were never married into other classes. Hence there arose the Brahman caste. Similar causes led to the formation of the Kshatriya caste. The common people, separated from the conquered people (Sudras) and from low barbarous tribes (Dasyus), yet retained their old name of Visas or Vaishyas.

Castes in this stage of development are found to exist in distinct outline in the society depicted by the great *epics* of the Hindus. But it must not be supposed that the professions were so sharply divided as to exclude all possibility of the members of one caste pursuing the profession of another. A Kshatriya was frequently a religious teacher, as a Brahman was a leader in war or a king. A Brahmanic dynasty ruled for a long time at Pataliputra. Vasudeva, the father of Krishna and a Kshatrya, was the father of the *Bhakti* School. Nor must it be supposed that the castes were confined only to the Aryans, or to the four classes usually mentioned. In those

days, as we have stated above, intermarriages of the males of the higher castes were allowed with females of the lower castes; and the issues of these connections were classed as a caste below that of the wife, except when the tribe of the wife was more or less on a level with that of the husband and the progeny was not considered degraded or was raised to the husband's caste after some generations. Thus arose several mixed castes—to which the Hindu writers gave the names of *Ambastha* (issue of a Brahman male and a Vaishya female), *Ugra, Nishada, Magadha, Chandala*, etc. As a matter of fact, these were the names of the several non-Aryan conquered tribes of India. Many of these tribes were gradually incorporated into Hindu society and formed new *race castes* and *professional* castes.

In Northern India some of these non-Aryan tribes incorporated in the Hindu society must have been classed with the higher castes, as the Bharatas. Such must also have been the case in Western and Southern India. Consisting, as the population of these parts of India did, of well-organized communities with powerful kingdoms and highly developed languages like Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kanarese, they offered such a strong resistance to the incursions of the Aryans, that like the Normans after their conquest of England, the Aryan conquerors, while imparting much of their religion and civilization to the conquered races, had to incorporate themselves into their society and adopt their languages. Classes according to rank and profession exist in every society, and must have existed also among the Dravidians. The influence of the Aryan conquest was probably to crystallize these classes into castes. In fact, the caste system found even a more congenial soil in Southern India than in Northern India, and shows its worst features of inflexible rigidity and intolerance the further we go south. This state of things suggests the theory that it was not the Aryans that introduced the caste system into India but that the Dravidians of Southern India must have driven the Aryans into a system of exclusive hereditary classes, which had already existed among themselves before the advent of the Aryans. This is not the place for discussing the correctness of this theory, but we mention it here with a view to bring into strong relief the influence of the Dravidian civilization on the Aryans, which some scholars are too apt to overlook. The fact cannot be denied that there sprung up out of the Dravidian and other tribes in Southern India Hinduised by the Brahmans, castes of priests, warriors, kings, cultivators, traders and innumerable others, who

stood on a level with the Aryan castes, and who have carried the caste system to an extreme of exclusiveness, rigidity and intolerance for which a parallel can be found nowhere in Northern India or elsewhere in the world in the past or present. The picture of Abbe Dubois in his *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies* might look exaggerated to the mild Hindu of Bombay; but to one who has lived long in a district like Malabar or Madura there will be found nothing surprising in the graphic descriptions of the famous priest.

Wherever they borrowed the caste system, the Brahmans found it the most powerful machinery for extending and retaining their hold over the numberless Indian tribes, to bring new tribes within the pale of Hinduism, without at the same time freely mingling with the low classes and losing the integrity and purity of their ancient Aryan blood. The Brahmans found no difficulty in effecting a compromise with the religions of the conquered tribes, by making Hinduism an all-embracing medley of monotheism, pantheism, polytheism, animism, fetichism and every gross superstition, combined with the highest flights of philosophical speculation, and brought within the fold of this all-embracing and comprehensive religion every race and tribe of India. In fact, every community, every profession and every sect was allowed to retain its own peculiar customs and religion, however barbarous and low, with a tincture of Brahmanism, and under the control of the Brahman. Hinduism thus became part of the ancient customs of the people, and customs at the same time were bound by caste. This process of driving Brahmanism into ancient custom and custom into caste was well calculated to deepen the devotion of the people to their religion, and to make it impossible to shake off the trammels of Brahmanism; it made custom, religion, and the Brahman all the more hallowed and powerful, while preserving the racial characteristics of the classes in almost complete purity. The wisdom of the Brahman never served him better than when he had recourse to this trick of an all-embracing and tolerant religious system combined with the most narrow, rigid, inflexible and intolerant system of caste.

At the same time we must not lose sight of the nobler motives the Brahman legislators had in building up society on a caste basis. For, in a society constantly threatened by the ravages of barbarism, it is by means of hereditary castes that arts, industries, languages, literature can best be acquired and mastered from childhood and

preserved from generation to generation. The castes moreover provided an excellent machinery for civil administration and state economy by a complete division of labour, in which every caste, like a wheel in a machinery, works in harmony with the rest. The caste system of course is out place when the society is caught in the full flood of the world's civilization. But we are concerned here not with the evils of the system, but with the question of its origin and the secret of its powerful hold on India.

The powerful hold of caste on the communities in India is illustrated by the futile results of campaigns conducted against it by a non-caste religion like Buddhism, which reigned in India for several centuries before and after Christ. In the struggle that continued for centuries, Buddhism succumbed to the caste system, and under the skillful tactics of the Brahmans with this powerful weapon, their religion has once more re-established its supremacy in India. Even Christianity has yielded itself to its influences, and there are found in India Christian communities among whom the caste system holds its sway, as among the Konkani Christians of Western India. Many Roman Catholic missionaries, fully grasping its great power, have tried the experiment of building up Christianity on the basis of caste, rid however, of the features most objectionable, from a Christian point of view. The extraordinary success of the Catholic missionaries not only in the territories under the Portuguese sphere of influence but outside that sphere from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth, like Fr. Nobile, Beschi, Brito, and of many Catholic Missions, that are now working in India with very slender means, must be attributed, to a great extent, to the wise policy of tolerating caste, freed from its monopolies of heavenly and earthly privileges and of regulating their own food and habits of life as consistently as possible with caste prejudices.

J. A. SALDANHA.

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THE GENESIS OF KERALA.

KERALA is the classical and collective designation of the territories embraced by that part of peninsular India which is walled in, almost on three sides, by the Western Ghats and, on the west, washed by the Arabian Sea. It consists, roughly, of the Protected States of Travancore and Cochin, the British District of Malabar and the southern portion of South Canara. Kerala is best defined as the habitat of the Malayalam language and the *Marumakkathayam* law of succession. The name is unknown to modern geography, physical or political. But *historically* it has an interest and importance all its own: it calls up vivid memories of a bygone civilization, everyway unique, as promising in its beginnings as pathetic in its arrested development, and attests the singular career of a special blend of humanity—a people whose blood is partly Dravidian and partly Aryan, added to a strong ancient strain of the warlike Naga (serpent) race from the steppes of Central Asia, "a Hindu community of the purest and most characteristic type," as has been tersely described by Mr. Logan, the author of the *Malabar Manual.* The Malayalees, as the sons of Kerala are distinctively called, cling to the traditions of its departed glories as passionately as the modern Italians to the Roman Empire of old, and well may, Kerala, therefore, lay claim to be "The Italy of India," as Sir M. E. Grant Duff called it, in more than one sense.

According to the *Keralamahatmya,* a Sanskrit work which chronicles the traditionary history of Kerala from the Brahmin point of view, "Kerala" denotes the littoral which stretches along the foot of the Western Ghats from Gokarnam in the north to Cape Comorin in the south, while the Malayalam record of the traditions current among the people, called *Keralolpathi,* divides the tract into four kingdoms, *Tulu, Kupa, Kerala* and *Mushika,* the third of these, *Kerala* "extending from *Putupattanam* to *Kannetti,* that is, South Malabar including the northern half of the Kurumbranad Taluk, the Cochin State and North Travancore," and elsewhere speaks of another division which makes Kerala run from *Perumpula* to *Putupattanam* (nearly the same as our North Malabar). Kalidasa who flourished about the sixth century A. D. describes Kerala as watered by the rivers, *Netravati, Saravati* and *Kali,* that is to say, corresponding to modern Canara and perhaps Malabar but not Travancore.

In the Mahakuta inscription of Mangalesa (567—610 A. D.) *Kerala* and *Mushika* are mentioned as two separate countries conquered by his predecessor, Kirtivarma I, and *Mushika* is identified by Professor Monier Williams with that part of the Malabar Coast which lies between Quilon and Cape Comorin. Thus we observe that the term *Kerala* was, at one time, used to denote Canara, at another, North Malabar and, at another, again, the tract made up of South Malabar, Cochin and North Travancore, but that it was never applied to that part of Travancore which lies to the south of Quilon, though modern Sanskrit writers have come to employ it in an extended sense so as to cover the whole of the West Coast of India up to Gokarnam in the north. The successive changes that its meaning has undergone have an interesting tale to tell which will be best understood in the light of the origin of the name.

Kerala, according to local chronicles, is so called after one of its *Perumals* or emperors of old of the same name who is said to have reigned about the year 216 A. D. But this derivation, evidently of a piece with that of *Pandya* from *Pandu* or of *Rome* from *Romulus*, may be dismissed as impossible in view to the fact that the name *Kerala* occurs in two of Asoka's edicts (257 B. C.) and was even known to Katyayna (fourth century B. C.) The name is sometimes derived from *kera* or *nalikera*, the Sanskrit word for cocoanut, the characteristic staple of the Malabar coast. But here, again, is an anachronism, since the cocoanut palm was known in Kerala prior to its importation by Tiyya immigrants from Ceylon not earlier than the first century A. D. The cocoanut palm, in fact, is named after, and does not give name to, Kerala. A careful examination of the names found in the languages of India for some of the chief products of this noteworthy palm will show that the names owe their origin to Kerala or Ceylon. The word "cocoanut" itself is, it will be observed, but a late accession to the English language, and in a monograph published in the year 1694 by "John Peachie, Doctor of Physick," we find the article described by no other name than "the Malabar nut."

There is another derivation which is much nearer the mark and which has the authority of Dr. Gundert, Dr. Rottler, and the Rev. Mr. Foulkes—a derivation, however, which rests on the erroneous assumption that the ancient kingdom of *Chera* (about the modern Salem, Coimbatore and Mysore) was identical with what

was nothing more than its tramontane colony or appanage, *Kerala*. It is contended that *Chera* and *Kerala* denote the same country, and that the latter term is only the Canarese dialectical form of the former. Dr. Gundert explains *Kerala* as "Malabar, Canarese pronunciation of *Cheram*." The equation is historically incorrect and philologically indefensible. Though the name *Chera* may not inappropriately be extended to the colonial territory of *Kerala*, there is obviously no justification for regarding the latter as co-extensive with the former. The fact is, the name *Kerala* is "the Canarese dialectical form" not of *Chera* but of *Cherala*[1] which literally means "the salt-marsh of Chera" and which was the name whereby *Kerala* was known with reference, as will be pointed out later on, to its original swampy condition. The name is found in ancient Tamil works such as the *Pura Nanuru*, and inscriptions have also been discovered which may be said to have clenched the question. In Sthana Ravi Gupta's copper grant to the Syrian Christians (ninth century, A. D.) Kerala is spoken of as *Aladeiya*—a word which has not yet been explained but which we have no difficulty in recognising as the Tamil form of *Aladesa* which means "saline swamp." In a copper plate[2] recently discovered in the Tanjore District, "Pandya, Cherala, Chela (*i. e.* Chera) and Lanka (*i. e.*, Ceylon)" are named as the several countries conquered by the Chola king, Rajakesarivarma (eleventh century, A. D.). *Cherala* was the name of the Tamil country on the West Coast (corresponding to the Malayalam country of our day) colonised by emigrants from Chera, and it was, in accordance with a well-known phonetic law[3] of the Dravidian languages, pronounced as "Kerala" by the Canarese people, and this pronunciation appears to have passed into the speech of the Brahmins as they came in contact with Canara and

1. The word is compounded of *Chera* and *ala*, the latter being an old Dravidian word meaning "salt field or marsh," still preserved in place-names on the Malabar Coast such as *Kayaralam*, *Vayalalam* &c., and also in *Alava*, the name of the saltpan-working caste of Travancore. The word "atoll" too is only the English form of the Dravidian *attalam* (lit. "salt-marsh carved out of the sea") and not, as is usually taken to be, of Malay origin. Cf. *Eng.* 'alum,' *Gr.* 'hals' and *Lat.* 'Sal.'

2. *Vide* the Report of Dr. E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist, Madras, for 1902—3.

3. According to this, the Grimm's law of the Dravidian family of languages, the letter *ch* of Malayalam or Tamil words is represented by *k* in Canarese and Tulu, and the change occurs notably in the initial syllables of words. For an illustrative list of 16 pairs of words, *vide* the writer's article in the *Nayar*, No. 3, (Changancherry).

thus, by degrees, crystallised into the Sanskrit or classical name for the West Coast in general. It is easy to understand how the name, ere long, underwent, in the usage of the Brahmins, a change of meaning quite in character with their ways and aims and accordingly came to be applied by them from time to time to that part of the West Coast which remained for the time being their principal settlement and the centre of their influence and power. The present Canara, North Malabar and the region to the south did, each in its time, enjoy the specific designation of *Kerala* in a restricted sense, but the fact otherwise inexplicable will be deemed perfectly intelligible when it is remembered that they marked the several stages in the progress of Brahmin immigrants from the north and that the term *Kerala* was applied by the latter to these stages in succession until, when Brahmin settlements had overspread and Brahmin influence had dominated the West Coast almost from one end to the other, it was likewise extended to this whole tract, and Gokarnam and Cape Comorin were mapped out as the Dan and Beersheba of Kerala. The region to the south of Quilon, however, never went by the specific name of *Kerala* which is explained by the fact that the southward migration of the Nambudri Brahmans got no further than the Quilon river, and their traditional sixty-four *gramams* or settlements are all to the north of this landmark. To the south no Nambudri family of pure birth has settled down to the present day, and the Travancore rulers have but "in vain tried by every means in their power to induce them to reside there."[4]

Kerala is, as we have seen, the phonetic equivalent of the indigenous name *Cherala*, evolved by a foreign speech, though it came, in the actual usage of the foreigners, to be employed in a sense of their own. In the Malayalam country it was unknown until it was imported along with the Nambudri Brahmans—its earliest use among the Malayalees being, so far as known, not earlier than the eighth century A. D.[5]—but outside it had been in common use centuries before. The history of the origin and vicissitudes of meaning of this name strikes us as curiously similar to that of another, a better known name. Every schoolboy knows how the Sanskrit name *Sindhu* became *India* among the Persians and passed

4. *Vide* Day's "Land of the Perumals," p. 23, and Mateer's "Land of Charity," p. 29.

5. The name *Vira Kerala* occurs in the Syrian Christian copper grant assigned by Dr. Burnell to the year 774 A. D.

in that form into the languages of the West. And the parallelism does not end here. If the Brahmin writers of North India extended the application of the term *Kerala* to Canara, we know that the people of Europe, until a few centuries back, were not above including the Mekran Coast and even Zanzibar of the African continent in their *India*. The geographical limits of India have, however, long ceased to be in danger of being mistaken, but for obvious reasons the case is different with the old-time country of Kerala.

From the above it may be safely concluded that Kerala, properly so called, that is to say, for historical and etymological reasons, is, as has been already defined, conterminous with the Malayalam country interposed between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea. The genesis of this country as portrayed in traditional accounts is a unique chapter in the history of India, and we propose to make it the subject of our present enquiry.

"The genesis of India," writes Col. Tod, the erudite historian of *Rajasthan*, "commences with an event described in the history of almost all nations, the deluge," but the statement, to be strictly true, must be qualified as referring only to India *minus* Kerala. For, the genesis of Kerala stands all by itself, and opens with an event of quite the opposite kind, the upheaval of the land from the bottom of the sea, and the heaved-up land, so far as known, has ever since remained *terra firma*.

The traditions bearing on the origin of Kerala are recorded in Puranic writings on the one hand, and in the local chronicles, such as they are, on the other. It is a fortunate circumstance and not a matter to be deplored that the several accounts are not all in entire agreement with one another. Their differences, all in details, emphasise their common testimony to the central fact, and point to the conclusion that they are the productions of divers writers, derived from some one original source.

According to one Puranic account Sagara, a king of the solar, race, set about the celebration of a horse-sacrifice, and the animal was roaming at will as usual when, at Indra's instance, it was lifted and tethered by the side of the sage Kapila seated in devotional reverie *i. e.*, in the nether world. The sixty thousand princes sent after the missing horse, so the story goes, scoured the terrestial

world, all in vain, cut a passage right through the earth to continue the search in the regions below, and, breaking in upon the sage's meditations, were instantaneously reduced to ashes. Their descendant, Bhaghiratha, fired with a desire to save their souls, led the celestial river down to the spot of their destruction, and the river, in its netherward course, is said to have submerged the West Coast of India including the site of the temple at Gokarnam. The mighty Parasurama, in response to the prayer of the devotees, grieved at the loss of their shrine, called upon the ocean to retire from its new accession and followed up the command by throwing his axe from Gokarnam to the south, the tract covered by the throw thereupon becoming dry land.

Another account represents Parasurama as anxious to wash away his sin of having extirpated the Kshatriyas. Accordingly, he repaired to the Western Ghats, obtained from the ocean by penance the favour of receding down to a point where he had descried a light in the sea and made an expiatory gift of the land thus reclaimed—Kerala—to the Brahmins.

Let us now turn to the versions furnished by the local chronicles of *Keralamahatmya* and *Keralolpathi*, the former of which is the most elaborate account that has come down to us of Parasurama and *Parasurama's land*. This account tells us how the god-incarnate, at his father's bidding, beheaded his mother Renaka, suspected of unchastity, with his axe, how, by way of expiating the matricidal sin as advised by Brahmin preceptors, he killed off all the Kshatriya rulers including Arjuna "with a thousand arms," the enemies of Brahmins, and made a gift to them "of all the land within the four seas" and how, being thus at a loss for a domicile, he sought one from the ocean and by means of a year's penance at the Cape Comorin shrine and with the assistance of Kumara, the god of war, prevailed upon the god of the seas to yield him as much land as he could cover by throwing his axe—from Cape Comorin. The axe thrown is said to have gone as far north as Gokarnam. The narrative then goes on to describe how Parasurama peopled the land of Kerala thus won with Brahmins and afterwards introduced for their benefit, other castes along with all good products, industries and institutions.

The *Keralolpathi* speaks of Parasurama as having performed penance at Gokarnam and obtained from the god of the seas a gift of the land between this place and Cape Comorin and settled

Brahmins therein in atonement for his having exterminated the Kshatriya race. The unstableness of the new land seems to have troubled the settlers, and Parasurama is said to have removed it by sprinkling gold dust on the ground, stamping so as to make it firm and depositing water carrying golden sands.

The records of Tuluva (an ancient kingdom of Canara) likewise contain traditions which attribute its reclamation from the sea and apportionment among Brahmins to Parasurama. One authority goes so far as to make the reclamation extend from Nassick to Cape Comorin—the seven countries of Karata, Virata, Marata, Konkana, Havyaga, Toulava and Kerala or the "seven Concans" (Sapta-Konkana) as they are collectively called.[6]

The above accounts all agree on the main point and on the main point only—the miraculous reclamation of Kerala from the sea by Parasurama, and there is no doubt that they are different descriptions of the same event, independent interpretations of the same phenomenon. There runs through them all an ancient belief handed down from generation to generation that Kerala was raised out of the sea within the knowledge of man by the operation of forces which we recognise as *natural* but which must certainly have seemed *supernatural* to those with whom the belief originated—a tradition which the authors of Puranas and local chronicles have improved upon to point a moral or adorn a tale but which should not on that account be rejected as a figment of the imagination. Simple popular traditions like this, found in all ages and countries, form for the most part the groundwork of the world's historical literature. But in India they have been so mixed up with the pedantries and puerilities of Puranic writers that to extricate them to reconstruct the early history of the country has been pronounced to be a hopeless task. Indeed, the Puranas have not received, at the hands of critics and *savants*, anything like the attention with which the Vedic literature has been read, marked and digested, and they are often spoken of as nothing more than fables invented by calculating priests, though to our mind, an imperfect appreciation of the circumstances under which they were written, an incorrect estimate of the mental horizon of their authors and to some extent a misconception of the genius of the Sanskrit literature are chiefly responsible for this preconceived theory.

6. *Vide* the Sanskrit verse quoted in "The History of Malayalam Literature," (4th edition), by Mr. P. Govinda Pillai, B. A.

Ancient India never regarded history as a distinct department of literature, and Vyasa was at once her Homer and Herodotus. The Indo-Aryan race is essentially of a spiritual turn of mind, and to it history, like all sciences and arts, has never been anything more than a handmaid to religion. Such historical and geographical information as has been derived from the Sanskrit authors appears in them, for the most part, only by way of suggestion or in connection with theological and other disquisitions. And all this is true in an eminent degree of the works of the Puranic period (500—1000 A. D.)

The Puranas were written at a time when Hinduism was endeavouring to beat back Buddhism and re-establish itself in India, and they naturally reflect the methods employed to this end. Hinduism, in order to attract the followers of the rival faith, adopted several of their beliefs and practices and respected the traditions and deified the heroes dear to the Dravidian and other non-Aryan races and tribes that formed the bulk of the Buddhist population. The priests who, like the monks of mediæval Europe, were "strongly affected with credulity, with the love of wonder and with a propensity to imposture," took up these traditions and heroes and wove them into picturesque stories of miracles and legends of saints and gods and goddesses often with conflicting claims to reverence—works which, of course, abounded in absurdities and falsehoods but which all the same took care to present these absurdities and falsehoods in the form best calculated to command popular acceptance. These Puranas, no doubt, attributed holiness to certain places; allotted prominence to some one deity or to his incarnations; and gave a realistic turn to the symbols and allegories contained in the literature of earlier periods. But the Puranic writers, instead of inventing their stories outright, based them, for the most part, on the cherished, time-honoured traditions then current among the people, and in this lies the historical value of Puranic literature. Puranic religion and literature have absorbed much of non-Aryan mythology, manners, traditions and history, and their careful analysis cannot fail to result in important additions to our knowledge of South Indian antiquities.

In reading the Puranas—and earlier works as well—one cannot too often remember that every Indian writer, metrical or other, is a poet born, not made, and no Indian writer is a historian, either born

or made. The Sanskrit language is nothing if not figurative, and from the Vedic times onwards, writers have personified things and described natural phenomena by means of metaphors and allegories and have, not unoften, been misunderstood. That this was one source of Puranic fables was well known to ancient thinkers and critics, and one of them, the great Kumarila Bhatta, the predecessor of Sankaracharya, declaims against the literal interpretation of figurative passages in Hindu sacred books in terms which a European critic of this day may hesitate to use.[7]

The above remarks give us an idea of the manner in which the tradition of the natural upheaval of Kerala has come to be encrusted with absurd legends. To take the first of the Puranic accounts given above, we find that the restoration of the noted shrine of Siva at Gokarnam is its *motif*. The legend ot Sagara's sacrifice sometimes represented as having given rise to the ocean itself does not form an organic part of the story, and is easily recognised as the annalist's peg for the Gokarnam miracle. Indeed the shrine at Gokarnam finds prominence more or less in every one of the accounts mentioned above, and this is no matter for surprise, seeing that Siva was almost the most popular deity in the Puranic period,[8] and Gokarnam is the most important of Siva temples in all India.

The second account is equally characteristic of the time of its birth—the Puranic period when the Brahmins did their best to inculcate reverence for their class and the efficacy of gifts to themselves as the cardinal principles of religion. Parasurama is said to have expiated his sin by a gift of the land of Kerala to Brahmins, and this theory of the gift of Kerala which it suited their interest to maintain, soon came, of course, to supersede the story of the restoration of Gokarnam.

We come next to the *Keralamahatmya* in which sacerdotalism goes on better still and treats the extermination of the Kshatriyas, enemies of the Brahmins, not as a sin to be atoned for but as an act meritorious enough to cover matricide. But the most important point about this work is its conclusive testimony to the process by which generations of priestly authors have helped the original popular tradition under consideration, to its present monstrous propor-

7. *Vide* Mr. R. C. Dutt's "History of Civilization in Ancient India," Vol. I, p. 186.

8. *Vide* the same work, Vol. I, p. 191.

tions. The *Keralamahatmya*[9] which, from internal evidences, may be inferred to be not more than four or five centuries old, purports to be an excerpt from the *Agni Purana*, one of the six Puranas held sacred to Siva. This Purana contains close upon 16,000 stanzas, only nine of which are devoted to a brief recital as to how Parasurama killed Arjuna and other Kshatriyas in twenty-one expeditions and then, leaving the world to the care of Kasyapa, the father of the gods, retired to the Mahendra mountains, but it does not contain a syllable about Kerala. The conclusion is irresistible that there was a stage in the growth of the legend about the origin of Kerala when it had not yet linked itself with the name of Parasurama, and that stage is not earlier than the time of the composition of this Purana, which is, according to Professor Wilson, certainly prior to the controversy which arose between the followers of Vishnu and Siva in the eighth or ninth century A. D. The *Keralamanatmya*, it will be further noted, gives prominence to the noted shrine at Cape Comorin dedicated to the goddess Kanya or Kali, an essentially Dravidian deity, whose absorption into the Hindu pantheon is another instance of the *modus vivendi* which the Brahmins, on their immigration to the south of the peninsula, resorted to with an eye to the main chance.[10] The work is pitched in an incontinent spirit of Brahmin spread-eagleism and forms a tissue of contradictions and anachronisms. From all these facts it is abundantly clear that it represents the latest and worst development of the tradition under investigation.

If sacerdotalism reached its high-water mark in the *Keralamahatmya*, its ebb-tide is the feature of the *Keralolpathi*. The latter

9. This book has not been printed, and for the information that he has gathered about it the writer is indebted to Mr. K. Kannan Nair, M. R. A. S., Editor of the *Nayar* (Changanacherry).

10. Some writers have supposed the temple at Cape Comorin to be of Brahmin origin, and concluded that "the Brahman emigration to the south must have taken place in very early times." Temples, idols and pilgrimages were unknown to the religion of the Brahmin until the beginning of the Puranic or the close of the Buddhist period. But the Cape Comorin temple was in existence much earlier. Eratasthenes (276—196 B. C.), the first geographer that made a systematic arrangement of the divisions of the earth, knew Cape Comorin as the promontory of the *Kaniakoi* or *Kahakoi* (the temple of Kanya or Kali) and Pliny (23—79 A. D,) called it *Coliacum*. The *Periplus* (about 80 A. D.) has the following about this place. "Those who wish to consecrate the closing part of their lives to religion come hither and bathe and engage themselves to celibacy. This is also done by women; since it is related that the goddess, Comanry once on a time resided at the place and bathed."

work is written in modern Malayalam and suggests a non-Brahmin authorship. Apart from its comparative freedom from inflated Brahmin legends, there are several reasons for considering that it is the work of some one who lived about three or four centuries ago, probably in South Malabar, and reduced to writing all the traditions, folklore and proverbs that he could gather from the lips of the common people—a fact which seems to account for its scrappy, rambling character. The traditions recorded in the *Keralolpathi*, not having been handed by interested writers, may, we think, be taken almost at their face value. It, therefore, follows that its version of the genesis of Kerala is the nearest approach, available, to the original form of the tradition and therefore, calling for the smallest allowance of the proverbial grain of salt. Except for the introduction of Parasurama to be explained later on, the account given in the *Keralolpathi* may be taken quite as an ordinary description of the phenomenon in question. Indeed, it bears the unmistakable stamp of truth in its reference to the persistent unstableness of the land said to have continued for some time after the upheaval. There are geological reasons for concluding that the upheaval was the outcome of a seismic disturbance of volcanic origin, and the unstableness was nothing but the after-tremors generally experienced in such cases. A professor in Japan—the country which has made the greatest advance in seismography—explains these after-tremors to be merely the residual effects of the first big disturbance, subject to definite laws and absolutely necessary, in the ordinary course of things, as, by their means, the disturbed earth's crust gradually settles itself into its final stable positions and each after-shock means the removal of one residual weak point. Sir Henry Cotton thus describes in *Blackwood's Magazine* his experience of the great Assam earthquake of the 12th June, 1897.

"But after the great disturbance definite shocks were incessant for two or three days, and the earth tremor went on continuously for a somewhat longer period. In Shillong itself it was estimated that there were 200 shocks a day for a few days after the 12th June; these had gradually diminished to 20 or 30 shocks a day by the middle of July. Then they became fewer; but for at least two years after the earthquake we were accustomed to a daily shock........... Shocks had become rare when I left Assam at the end of April 1901, but I may safely estimate that we acquired an experience of three or four thousand quakes."

Such was the experience of the last Assam earthquake, a mere child's play when compared with the disturbance which tossed up a whole tract of not less than 15,000 square miles of land, and the after-tremors felt therein, probably, for several years after the upheaval might well have scared away the first settlers as stated in certain traditionary accounts.

The *Tuluva* tradition also seems to be a popular version, and is not materially different from the form current among the people in the south. The traditional origin of the "seven Concans" has little to support it, and in this connection it is enough to say that the question whether the tract of land which stretches from the northern frontier of Kerala right up to Nassick has had a geological origin similar to that of Kerala is really foreign to the scope of our present discussion.

From the foregoing review of the several versions in which the genesis of Kerala has come down to us, it is clear that they all had their origin in an ancient tradition giving contemporaneous expression to the experience of people who had direct knowledge of the upheaval. The tradition seems, in fact, to be literally as old as the numerous hills of Kerala, and there is also independent foreign testimony to its early currency in the country. Dr. Day refers to a manuscript account of Malabar by Hernan Lopez de Castanheda in 1525 where it is said that little more than 2,300 years ago the sea came up to the Western Ghats.[11] Fra Bartholomeo says that in his day the natives believed that the sea formerly extended even to the foot of the Ghats, though he himself disbelieved it.[12] We have also traced this tradition through the various stages of its gradual growth and development, and indicated the circumstances under which the priestly authors worked it into frivolous legends for purposes of their own. Parasurama's name, as we have likewise shown, was yet not connected with the reclamation of Kerala at the time of the composition of the *Agni Purana* which is not earlier than the fifth century and not later than the ninth century. But the question how it came to be so connected remains to be considered.

The Ramayana and the Puranas tell us that Parasurama, reckoned as one of the ten incarnations of Vishnu, was the son of Jamadagni, a Brahmin sage of the Bhrigu clan, and his wife Renuka,

11. *Vide* Vol. 22, *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, N. S. 6, pp. 260 and 264, (1861).

12. *Vide* Fra Bartholomeo's *Voyage to the East Indies*, p. 128.

and was born in *Bhrigukatcha* (lit. "the valley of the Bhrigus") the modern Broach on the Nurbada river where this clan seems to have settled down in very early times. Arjuna "with a thousand arms," king of the Haihaya tribe who reigned at *Mahismati*, the modern Maheswar on the Nurbada, it is said, stole Jamadagni's cow (of which the Ramayana gives another version) and was slain by Parasurama who in twenty-one expeditions, exterminated the Kshatriya race and then retired to do penance in the Mahendra mountains.

That the great Arjuna "with a thousand arms," a *chakravarti* or paramount sovereign as the *Bhavishya Purana* terms him, stooped to lift a cow and got killed for it by a Brahmin youth is certainly not worthy of credit, and it is absurd to understand the word "cow" except in another—an allegorical—sense in this as well as in the other similar story of the hostilities between Vasishta and Viswamitra, also arising from the theft of a cow—a cow which, according to the Ramayana, supplied the oblations to the gods, the perpetual sacrificial fire, the burnt-offerings and sacrifices, which a king only should possess and for which Viswamitra offered a hundred thousand cows in exchange. The word *go* in Sanskrit means "the earth" or a "cow" and the earth, in reference, probably, to its productivity, is often represented as a milch cow. The conclusions is irresistible that the real bone of contention in the case of Vasishta and Viswamitra as well as of Arjuna and Jamadagni was not "a cow" but "the earth," *i. e.*, territorial power.[13]

The Haihayas of Maheswar and the Bhrigus of Broach occupied neighbouring tracts of land, and probably there cropped up between them in the natural course of things territorial disputes and hostilities which culminated in the overthrow of the former clan—an overthrow which the Brahmin Puranic authors, of course, magnified into the twenty-one expeditions against, and the extermination of, the whole Kshatriya race, the enemies of Brahmins. Indeed, the *Bhavishya Purana* says that Arjuna was expelled from his dominions on the Nurbada and that he, thereupon, emigrated with the population of *Mahismati* (Maheswar) and founded the city of Hemanagara in the north of India. Tradition yet remains of this prince in Maheswar which is popularly known as *Sahasra bahukabustee*, "the town of the thousand-armed," and a remnant of the Haihaya

13. Col. Tod hit upon this interpretation though he was unaware of the two meanings of the Sanskrit word, *go*.

tribe still exists, according to the author of "The Annals of Rajasthan," in the line of the Nurbada near the very top of the valley at Sahagpur, Bhagul-khund, aware of their ancient lineage and...... ....celebrated for their valour'. The question then arises whether the powerful *chakravarthi* of Maheswar could have been defeated and driven out of his dominions by the Brahmins—the Bhrigu clan—of Broach by themselves, and here again the *Bhavishya Purana* supplies the answer. Long and terrible wars are therein said to have been waged between the Haihaya chief Arjuna and the Naga race, and though the *Purana* speaks of the former as having conquered a northern branch of the latter, it contains enough to justify the inference that the expulsion of the "thousand-armed" chief was really brought about by the arms of the ferocious Naga warriors who lent their aid to the priestly combatants of Broach. There are reasons which we may regard as fairly conclusive for holding that Parasurama was the head of these Nagas and the protagonist in the action which ended in the triumph of the Brahmins over their adversaries of Maheswar.

A. KRISHNA PODUVAL.

(To be continued.)

MALAYALAM LITERATURE: ITS MAKERS.

III.

THE appearance of dramatic composition in our language marks an important stage in the development of Malayalam literature. It has created a new taste among the people and has awakened a new spirit of activity among our literary men. While other kinds of literature could be appreciated only by the educated, dramatic literature by its dual character could afford instruction and enjoyment to the uneducated as well. The stage became a point of attraction to a large number of people and a field for the display of literary talent to not a few of our scholars. Our literature which could hitherto boast only of the unrivalled productions of Thunchan and a few minor works was now enriched by the works of a series of dramatic writers who necessarily introduced a large number of Sanskrit words and thereby increased the vocabulary of the language. A professional class of actors has also sprung up in the country who have largely been patronised by Rajahs and ruling chiefs. All these circumstances favoured the growth and development of our language and literature and diffused a taste for reading among the people.

We have already seen that for the introduction of *Kathakali* into our country we are indebted to Kerala Varma Rajah of Kottarakaray, whose name stands first in the list of *Kathakali* writers in Malabar. Though the intrinsic merits of his productions may not perhaps entitle him to this place, the fact of his being the originator of this species of composition in Malayalam undoubtedly justifies his claim to the distinction then conferred on him by his countrymen. Familiar though he was with some of the best dramatic models in the Sanskrit language, he seems to have cast his works in altogether a different mould. He designed a new model which, while it agreed with the Sanskrit drama in its general outlines, differed from it in its essential details. Why the Sanskrit model was departed from does not seem to be quite clear. He must probably have perceived that the intricacy of its plot, the multiplicity of its incidents, scenes and situations, and the comparatively difficult plan of unfolding the story by means of dialogues were too much for the comprehension of the class of audience for whose delectation his works were chiefly intended. He therefore adopted

a much simpler plan for his works combining the narrative with the dramatic form. Nevertheless, his works have supplied a blank in our literature.

Defective in many respects though they are, the *Kathakalics* of the Kottarakaray Rajah have served the two-fold purpose of directing the attention of scholars to a new field where their talents might be usefully employed and of providing the people with a means of instruction and a source of enjoyment to which they were hitherto strangers. The popularity with which the plays of Kerala Varma Rajah have been received seems to have encouraged Malayalam scholars to make further attempts in the same field. A number of dramatic works have been produced, some of which are of exceptional, and others of questionable, merits. I shall here speak only of the former of these two classes which have more or less influenced Malayalam literature to a perceptible extent.

The first dramatic writer that followed the lead of Kerala Varma Rajah belonged, like himself, to the aristocratic class—a fact which while it shows that learning still continued to be the monopoly of the higher classes, also proves that it has descended a step,—from the sacerdotal to the class next below it. This writer was a member of the Kottayam Royal Family in North Malabar, and was a younger brother of the warrior-poet Karala Varma, the talented translator of *Valmiki Ramayanam.* He is said to have lived for some time in Trivandrum after successfully fighting against and eventually driving our "Mukilan" (the Mogul chief) and his followers from Travancore about the year 858 M. E. Roughly speaking therefore, the period between 850—900 may be taken as the time in which his brother of dramatic fame lived. This Rajah too seems to have been a warrior like his brother and to have wielded the sword and the pen with equal facility though not with equal success. His lot seems to have been cast in troublous times. He had to wage incessant wars against his foes, and seems to have made a determined stand against their attempts at depriving him of his independence. At last, he was, it is said, betrayed by one of his attendants into their hands who shut him up in a fort in Kanakamalay where, according to tradition, he ended his life by his own hand; his martial spirit chafing and revolting at the very thoughts of the restraints of a prison.

His works betray considerable scholarship, and are characterised by a sort of stern grandeur quite in keeping with his warlike character. Indeed, this martial turn of his character seems to have greatly influenced him in the choice of the subjects of his beautiful dramas, three of which, like his life itself, have a tragical close. Like his model and predecessor, he too seems to have drawn upon poetic and heroic tradition for the materials of his plays. The apparently inexhaustible stories of Puranic lore which have furnished Indian poets with an endless variety of themes for their songs have not been spared by our author. He detached chips from the massive block of the Mahabharata and chiselled and polished them into figures of statuesque grandeur. Four of the striking incidents in the *Aranyaparvam* of the epic form the subject of the four plays ascribed to his authorship, *viz.*, *Bekavadham*, *Krimeeravadham*, *Neevathakavachavadham* and *Kalyanasougandhikam*. All these plays are written on the model of the *Kathakalies* of the Kottarakaray Rajah and adhere closely to them in their essential characteristics of plot-incident and other particulars. They are, however, regarded as far superior to their original in respect of literary merit and adaptability to the stage. I shall say a word or two with regard to their general character without entering into details.

The learned and lofty diction, the profuse use of figures, initial, middle and terminal rhymes and assonance, and the extraordinary command of words displayed in his works undoubtedly rank his plays among the best productions in the language. The different *Rasas* or sentiments which, according to Sanskrit rhetoricians, constitute the very quintessence of literary productions of the kind, find ample illustration in these works. The predominating sentiment that runs through all of them, however, is what is characterised as *Roudra Rasam* or the sentiment of wrath. But love, pathos, scorn, and occasionally the sublime, are handled with striking effect. *Krimmira* and *Nevathakavachavadham* are regarded as the best and the most popular of his works, and are the most frequently acted. Actors and scholars are unanimous in their praise of the beauties of these plays and hold them up as faultless models for imitation. It would be interesting to inquire how far these productions conform to the refined tastes and sentiments of modern times.

One chief point that I find dwelt upon as a real excellence is the learned and difficult style of the author, the *slokas* being almost wholly, and the *padas* being chiefly, in Sanskrit. Whether this can

be construed as a real excellence is a matter open to grave doubts. The chief object of language is, and the one object of a writer ought to be, to present his thoughts and sentiments in the most intelligible manner and in the most acceptable form. Especially ought this to be the case with poets and dramatists whose sole object is to combine pleasure with instruction. The use of a learned or an artificial style, far from being adapted to sucure this object, is apt to divert our attention from the sentiments to the language, from the essence to the semblance, an altogether undesirable result and one that is not in the least intended. The reward we get after all is quite disproportionate to the labour of overcoming the difficulty of the language.

The use of figures of speech and other similar devices are, no doubt, calculated to heighten the effect of language and to aid the understanding, within due limits. But the use of hackneyed and farfetched figures peculiar to Indian poets which have lost all their aptness and effect by being borrowed and used so often cannot, to my mind, add much to the beauty, dignity or effect of the language. They sound flat and dull to our ears. To be effective, figures must be original and should be drawn from the vast field of human experience or from the varied and interesting phenomena of nature. Besides, the accumulation or the excessive use of figures and other ornaments which characterise these works smothers the sense and eclipses the beauty of the thoughts or sentiments expressed. The *Kathakalies*, based as they are on Puranic traditions and legendary lore, do not exercise that educative influence which dramatic works dealing with the common incidents and vicissitudes of human life—subjects of abiding interest to man—are capable of exerting upon our minds. They carry us back to a legendary age in which heroes, gods and demons played the chief part, with whose doings and quarrels we cannot naturally have much in common. Any interest we may have in them is only of a transient nature, and cannot be of that genuine kind which we feel for the weaknesses and sufferings of our fellow-creatures.

Of the four plays written by the Kottayam Rajah, three are *Vadhams* or plays having a tragical close. This fact points to a distinct bias on the part of the author in this direction. The author's warlike spirit may partly account for this preference. It should here be observed that the tragic phase of human life has been a favourite theme with poets and dramatists in all ages and

countries, though it seems quite opposed to the legitimate function of poetry, *viz.*, the imparting of pleasure. It is a fact, however unpalatable it may be to us, that the human mind takes pleasure in the contemplation of the tragic incidents of life; and poets and dramatists have not been slow in discovering this and turning it to advantage. But unnatural though it may seem, it is not without its wholesome effects. The spectacle of human sufferings and misery stirs our hearts to their inmost depths, gives rise to that noble and pleasurable feeling of pity, and exercises on the whole a tranquilizing influence on the emotions as an after effect. Such themes seem also to lend themselves readily to dramatic treatment, and the exhibition of the highest poetical effects. But in the handling of tragic themes, the dramatist has to keep himself within proper bounds. The introduction of horrible incidents in their grim nakedness into the drama, and their representation on the stage, as in some of the Kottayam *Kathakalies*, are extremely revolting to our sense of humanity; and a skillful artist, by a judicious use of the various devices of dramatic art, must subdue the horrors of such incidents and lead the audience, by careful hints and side lights, to the realisation of the incident.

But *Kathakalies*, like these, can hardly be characterised as works of art. No doubt, they often show a good deal of learning, much ornamentation, and interesting or exciting incidents; but anything like the skillful handling of plot, the harmonious grouping of incidents, the gradual unfolding of character by speech and action, and the subordination of minor circumstances to the main theme seems entirely wanting. Noble sentiments, wholesome moral reflections and striking thoughts which tend to elevate and educate the mind do not, as a rule, find place in them. I should also like to advert here to a blemish which seems common to all *Kathakalies*. Whenever female characters are introduced, the dialogue invariably turns on the subject of love—love, not of that ennobling and self-sacrificing kind, but of the grosser and self-seeking form which degrades rather than elevates mankind. With all these faults however, *Kathakali* has filled a bad gap in our literature—has given us many a long hour of innocent enjoyment—pleasant breaks between the worries and cares of life. It has been, for a period of a century and a half, a standing institution in Malabar, and has continued to occupy the place of public amuser, if not also of public instructor; and it is only right that those who have so considerably catered for our intellectual wants should not go unthanked.

R. EASWARA PILLAI.

(To be continued.)

EARLY CIVILISATION OF MALABAR.

HOWEVER difficult it may be to trace the early history and civilization of Malabar, it will not be altogether useless to make an attempt to gather and bring to a focus all available material necessary for the purpose. Malabar has been peculiarly unfortunate in not possessing any historic remains. It may be that the field of historic research has not, as yet, been sufficiently explored by competent hands. Excepting the two or three genuine copper plate inscriptions of the Perumal period, there are scarcely any inscriptions worth the name which would throw light on the state of society in Malabar during those early times. Of stone inscriptions there are but few in the country. The praiseworthy endeavours of the late Professor Sundram Pillai, M. A., of the Maharaja's College at Trivandram have been so far successful that he has been able to unearth from oblivion a number of stone inscriptions on the Travancore side of Malabar which throw some dry light on that part of the country during the period covered by those inscriptions.

Malabar has, from very early times, carried on extensive commercial transactions with the far West. At this distant date, and with the scanty materials at hand, it is impossible to say if the Egyptians—the world's pioneers in the arts of navigation and commerce—had any direct commercial relations with Malabar. There can, however, be no doubt that so early as 1000 B. C. the Phœnicians had voyaged to Malabar and taken from there articles that were highly prized in Tyre and Carthage. The Phœnician King Hiram exchanged friendly amenities with the two Jewish Kings David and Solomon. His friendship with David was comfirmed by commerce and intermarriage. It is surmised that Hiram's construction of splendid temples to Melcarth and Astarte probably suggested the building of a palace worthy of the Jewish nation. After assisting King David to build his palace, Hiram supplied Solomon with cedar, fir and stones for his great temple. It was the Phœnician King Hiram who supplied Solomon with sailors and pilots to assist him in his commercial enterprises. At about 1000 B. C. Solomon fitted out a fleet manned by a Phœnician crew which under Phœnician pilots sailed to Tarshish and Ophir at which latter place they are said to have exploited for gold. Benfy identifies Souppara, a place situated

to the north of Kallian near Bombay with the Ophir of 3 Kings and Chronicles IX—28, which the Greek version of the Bible translated in Alexandria in the third century B. C. renders into Sophira, a word identical with the Coptic name for India. But Dr. Burnell is surprised that it has never been suggested that Ophir was somewhere in Travancore or Malabar, he being of opinion that Abhira at the mouth of the Indus is most improbable.[1]

The ivory, apes, and peacocks, the gold and sandalwood that Solomon's shipmen carried away, indicate the sort of merchandise, if apes and peacocks can be classed as articles of commerce, that formed the staple of commerce between the Orient and the Occident in the dim and distant past. Mr. Bosworth Smith tells us that the gates of the ancient city of Carthage were made of sandalwood imported from Malabar,[2] and who can say that Malabar did not also supply the materials for carving work which contributed to beautify the temples and palaces of Hiram, David and Solomon? Earlier still Moses specifies the appropriation to religious uses, and in large quantities too, of cinnamon and cassia which were peculiarly the productions of Ceylon and Malabar. A well-known passage in the Bible attests to the fact that these valuable aromatics figured prominently in the temple services of the Jews.[3] The traditions of the Malabar Jews carry back the date of their settlement on the Malabar Coast to the time of their escape from servitude under Cyrus in the sixth century B. C. If there be any truth in this, it was not at all difficult for them to have maintained their connection with their motherland, for we have it from Herodotus that the Red Sea trade in myrrh and frankincense, cinnamon and cassia was in the hands of the Egyptians and Phœnicians. Cinnamon and cassia were specially Malabar products, and Ktesias the Knedian (B. C. 400) makes mention of cinnamon under the name of Karpion identified by Dr. Caldwell with the Tamil-Malayalam word *Karapu*. As Ktesias had not visited Malabar or even India, he must have gathered his information from those Indians "who in those days were occasionally to be seen at the Persian Court, whither they resorted, either as merchants, or as envoys bringing presents and tribute from the princes of Northern India which was then subject to Persian rule.[4]

1. Indian Antiquary Vol, I, page, 332.
2. Carthage and the Carthagenians.
3. Exodus XXX, *v*. 23—24.
4. McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Ktesias, p. 3—4.

There can be no doubt that there was at the time more than one overland trade route between India, Central Asia and Europe.[5] Dr. Caldwell has pointed out in the introduction to his Dravidian Grammar that the word mentioned by Ktesias to indicate cinnamon seems to have a real resemblance to the Arabic word *Kerfat*, *Kerfat* as also to a Dravidian one.[6]

The Phœnician trade with Malabar could not have been very considerable. They were at the best but mere birds of passage making no settlements or building factories in the country as they did in Greece. At any rate there is no indication of any settlements made by them on the Coast, though later on Agatharcides who wrote 146 years after Alexander tells us that the mariners of Sabea sailed in very large vessels to India, to the country where the odoriferous products grew, and planted colonies there believed by some to be the progenitors of the Moplas of Malabar.[7] It is not improbable that the people of the West Coast of India did themselves throw out colonies, and introduced the valuable material productions of their country into their new homes. There is abundant reason to believe that the early Dravidians of the Coast were not altogether disinclined to a seafaring life, and the aversion that they now evince is only a later development fostered and encouraged by the influence of Brahminism. Judging from the traces of colonies in Arabia and elsewhere and especially in the island of Socotra at the mouth of the Gulf of Aden, we are constrained to conclude that the Dravidians of the Malabar Coast had, at an early period of their existence, sailed out of India and formed settlements at distant places. The Malayalis themselves seem to have founded colonies in Arabia, and Starbo (about A. D. 20) mentions an hereditary caste division in Arabia Felix, as well as a community of property and women in the several families which correspond exactly with the peculiar customs of the Nairs of Malabar.[8] Arabia Felix is the second of the three divisions into which the ancient geographers following Ptolemy of Egypt, divided the Peninsula of Arabia. Felix is said to be a mistranslation of Yemen, which means "on the right hand," by which phrase the Orientals meant *South*, looking to the rising sun as their

5. Ancient Commerce of India by Dr. Oppert, pp. 16—17.
6. See note by McCrindle at page 29, Ancient India as described by Ktesias.
7. Wilk's Mysore Vol. 2, page 129.
8. India and the West in Old days by Professor Weber. Christian College Magazine, Vol. 5, p. 278.

chief cardinal point. Yemen, the south-western corner of Arabia, was the chief seat of population in early times, and is more fertile than other parts, being watered[9] regularly by the tropical monsoons. The spices and aromatics introduced by the early colonists from the West Coast of India would have had luxuriant growth in this fertile land. This was the country of the Sabeans, and one of the most interesting episodes in the life of King Solomon records the visit of the Queen of Sheba (*i. e.* of the Sabeans) to the great King. " She came to Jerusalem with a very great train, with camels that bare spices and very much gold and precious stones." "The Queen of the South gave Solomon an hundred and twenty talents of gold, and of spices very great store, and precious stones: there came no more such abundance of spices as these which the Queen of Sheba gave to king Solomon." Throughout the Bible and many of the ancient writers there are many references to the spices and perfumes of Sheba, Sabea or Arabia Felix, and Milton sings of sea breezes which

> "........Waft Sabœn odours from the shores
> Of Araby the Blest;"

According to the annals of the Abyssinians, the Queen seems to have gone by sea from Egypt to Phœnicia since she was attended by a daughter of Hiram's from Tyre to Jerusalem. This solves the problem as to whence the copious quantities of spices and gold which accompanied the Queen of Sheba came. It has already been pointed out that Solomon himself had procured the same commodities from the Coast of Malabar through Hiram's shipmen, and there is nothing imaginary in supposing that the Phœnician King's daughter carried with her in accompanying the Sheban Queen large quantities of the valuable articles that were so much coveted at the Court of Jerusalem.

In Greece the Phœnicians had left behind them their impress not simply on the field of arts and manufactures but also on the religion of the country. Mr. Oman thinks that at the earliest moment when the mists of antiquity began to lift, the barbarous inhabitants of ancient Greece received the rudiments of their civilisation from their intercourse with those ubiquitous merchants.[10] In Malabar, however, there is no indication whatever to show that

9. The Story of the Extinct Civilizations of the East, p. 117—118.
10. History of Greece.

the Phœnicians found a barbarous people who had to be taught the rudiments of civilisation.[11] On the other hand, they were so far advanced as to receive from the Phœnician traders a system of writing which had been handed down from generation to generation and which had stood its ground till now. The *Vatteluthu* alphabet, —"the most ancient Tamil and almost the present Malayalam characters"—bear distinct traces of a Phœnician origin.[12] We may safely surmise that, before the Malabar people should have been in a position to adopt a method of perpetuating their mature thoughts with a view to hand them down to posterity, they must have attained a sufficiently high state of civilisation. Their literature, whatever that was, must have passed the stage of productions which were of an evanescent nature. Beyond these rather broad general statements, it is not possible now to gauge with any degree of exactitude the nature and extent of the civilisation of the country. All that we can postulate at present is that the people of Malabar, who at that early period were identical with the early Tamils, were a commercial class having commercial relations with the outside world both by land and by sea, exporting some very valuable natural products of the country, vegetable, animal and mineral, to wit—cinnamon, cassia, ivory, apes, peacocks, and gold. They were not averse to go beyond the limits of their own country and were not disinclined to a seafaring life, having thrown out colonies, one at least of which in Arabia Felix exhibited in Strabo's true manners and customs which are akin to those of the Nairs of Malabar at the present day. Of their religion, mode of worship, home-life etc., it is impossible to go into details.

11. About the year 1860 an elegantly shaped bronze jug (of which a cut in actual size will be found to face page 302 of the Indian Antiquary Vol. IV) was dug up at Avanasi in the Coimbatore District, Mr. M. J. Walehouse, late M. C. S. who gives a description of it in the Antiquary observes "that it is of a shape not at all Hindu, nor indeed though elegant and classical, hardly, Greek." "Avanasi" Mr. Walehouse remarks "is about a hundred miles from the Malabar Coast, between which and Egypt, there was certainly a frequent communication in very ancient times; and the Greek and Phœnician sailors, who took home peacocks and perfumes from thence, may have brought out with them such an article as this jug," In the light of the above remarks it is interesting to note that with the jug above mentioned were found a bronze globular oil vessel with straight tapering spout, and a bronze stand for one wick, both of the forms still commonly in use.

12. Dr. Burnell in the Indian Antiquary Vol. I, "The Oldest Indian Alphabet." A Phœnician origin of the Indian Alphabets has been suggested by Lespin and Weber; Professor Pott, is however, unwilling to admit it (Etymol Forschungen W. W. II,-2 page 4111) though Professor Benfy considers it probable (Orient and Occident III, 170). Professor Westergard also appears to accept this theory.

But, as we proceed, the mists seem to clear up, though but slowly and gradually. We see Hinduism following in the wake of the Aryan conquest of Southern India, spreading itself, and taking a firm foot-hold in the country. Whether the Aryan invasion of Southern India was led by Parasurama, the reputed reclaimer of Kerala or by his alleged contemporary and namesake the hero of the Ramayana, or whether Raghu, the ancestor of the latter, did, as asserted in the Raghuvamsa, actually levy tribute from the Pandya Kings "of their glory, the collected excellence of the pearls of the ocean into which the Tamrapurni flows"[13] it is evident that Hinduism was established on the Malabar Coast anterior to the Christian era. We have the high authority of Professor Wilson for this position.[14] Without wishing to make in any way any dogmatic statement regarding the age of the great epic or of its hero, I may advert to the views of Rev. Williams Taylor as to the age of the hero-saint of Kerala. He thinks that the nearest conjecture we can form regarding the era of Parasurama is that he lived some time within the thousandth year after the flood.[15] However this may be, as Mr. R. C. Dutt odserves, by 1000 B. C., Hindu settlers had come as far southwards as South Behar, Malwa, Southern India and Gujarat,[16] and Bishop Caldwell, on the authority of the *Dipavamsa* and *Mahavamsa*, refers to circumstances which "carry up the era of the first introduction of Aryan civilisation into the Pandy country probably at Korakai, to a very early period; shall we say about B. C. 700?"[17] To be more specific and to come nearer home, by the fourth century B. C. the whole of Southern India had been Hinduised, and the three great kingdoms of Chera, Chola, and Pandya had been established stretching as far south as Cape Comorin.[18] I have shown elsewhere that Chera is but another form of Kerala or Malabar.[19] By the early years of the Christian era Brahminism itself must have become rampant in Malabar, for we see the *Periplus* mentioning Cape Comorin as possessing a temple dedicated to the wife of Siva,[20] a peculiarly Brahman deity. Ptolemy also names a town known as Brahmagara (abode of the Brahmins) in the province of Limyrike (Tamil land),

13. Raghuvamsa IV-50.
14. Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie, M.S.S. Introduction.
15. Translation of Oriental Historical Manuscripts to Vol. II, p. 56.
16. Ancient India, Vol. I, p. 25.
17. History of Tinnevelly, p. 15.
18. Ancient India, Vol. I, p. 25.
19. Malabar Quarterly Review, Vol. II, p. 20.
20. McCrindle's Periplus, p. 139.

as being of high repute and places it half a degree to the east of Tyndis (Kadalundi near Beypore), that is really to the south of it, since Ptolemy makes the Malabar Coast run east instead of south.

But long before the Aryan invasion of Southern India and the spread of Aryan religion and civilisation, the Dravidians must have overrun a greater portion of the country. It is, however, impossible, for want of sufficient and satisfactory materials, to exactly or even approximately determine the period of their colonisation of Southern India. But with modern historians it is an accepted historic fact that the Dravidians had preceded the Aryans in the rush of races. They seem to have entered the Punjab by the north-western passes, met the Kolarians coming from the north-east, overcame them, and pushed forward in a mighty body to the south. They now inhabit Southern India as far down as Cape Comorin.[21] To the author of the Ramayana, the whole of India south of the Vindhya mountains was almost a *terra incognita*. To him it was a large stretch of forest land (the *Dandakarnya*) inhabited by monkeys, bears, *Rakshasas* (demons) and other aborigines, relieved here and there by patches of well-watered fertile land occupied by holy *Rishis* (ascetics) who had retired into the recesses of the forests to spend the evening of their lives in penances and meditation. But it cannot be said that Kerala or Malabar was unknown to the author of the Ramayana. That epic, as well as its companion the Mahabharata,[a] refer to the people of the country as among the despicable people of the South, such as *Hunas, Pulindas Phalvas, Saksa, Malvas* etc. The degeneration of the time is attributed to the existence of such nations of the lowest origin. To them were also ascribed the atrocities of warfare. This shows that in their advance towards the south the Aryans met with races who were no more than mere barbarians.

In the fifth century B. C. Ceylon was conquered and made a Hindu kingdom by Vijaya, son of Subahu, king of Sala in Magadha. He and his colony of adventurers are said to have been cast adrift on the ocean on account of their misconduct, and the sequel was that they discovered and colonised Ceylon. According to the *Dipavamsa* composed in the fourth century A. D. and the *Mahavamsa* composed somewhat later, this conquest of Ceylon took place in the

21. Hunter's Indian Empire.
(a) Ramayana 1, 41 ; IV. 41. Mahabharata 1, 6685 ; III, 1991 &c., see also the *Harivamsa* 229-4756. Also the passages cited by Dr. Oppert in his *Nitiprakashika* and his paper " On the Weapons, Army Organizations and Political Maxims of the Ancient Hindoos " page 33.

year 543 B. C.[22] Vijaya is said to have crossed over to the continent for a wife, and he married a daughter of the Pandyan King. She was accompanied to Ceylon by a great retinue of maidens who were given in marriage to Vijaya's companions.[23] It is indeed a circumstance specially worthy of notice that the oldest name by which Ceylon was known was *Tambapani* (not to mention the Sanskrit term *Lanka*). It was so called by the earliest Buddhists three centuries before Christ. The Girnar edict of Asoka refers to the island by that name, and the Greeks called it Taprolane, a mispronunciation of *Tambapani*. The settlement made by Vijaya and his followers on the island is said in the *Mahavamsa* to have been known by the name of *Tambapani*, or more correctly in the Sanskrit, *Tamraparni*, which in the end came to be applied to the whole island. Dr. Caldwell supposes that a colony from the mouth of the river Tamraparni in Tinnevelly on the mainland carried the name over with it to a settlement founded by it on the opposite coast of Ceylon. Or, on the other hand, after the Aryan adventurers under Vijaya had settled in Ceylon, they might have formed a settlement on the Tinnevelly Coast and given the chief river on the Coast the name of the town from which they came. The general and natural course of migration would doubtless be from the mainland to the island; but there may occasionally have been reflex waves of migration even in the earliest times, as there certainly were later on, traces of which survive in the existence in Tinnevelly and the Western coast of castes whose traditions and even in some instances, whose names connect them with Ceylon.[24] (Cf. the tradition as to the caste of the Tiyars or Iluvas of Malabar).[25] At any rate, there is evidence sufficient to predicate a state of relationship between the people on the mainland and the island which forms the basis of continuous intercommunication between them. It is said that Ceylon was often invaded in early times by the Tamilians (*Damilos* from the mainland) and naturally the invaders were Cholas and not Pandyans. According to the Singhalese accounts, the Tamil Cholas invaded Ceylon as early as the third century B. C., again in the second century, and a third time in the second century A. D. After the second inroad, the Cholas seem to have remained in the island, for we find that the

22. Dutt's Ancient India, Vol. I, pp. 31-32—Vol. II, p. 31.
23. Upham's *Mahavamsa*, p. 10.
24. History of Tinnevelly, p. 14.
25. Tiyar=Dwipar=Islanders. Iluver=Those who came from Eelam=Ceylon.

Dravidian conquerors were expelled by Watta Gamini about 88 B. C. The Singhalese themselves were not idle. They retaliated by invading the mainland in great force on more than one occasion.[26]

Before the invasion of Alexander the Great, India was all but unknown to the people of Europe. Little or nothing was known of its vast extent, its many nations, its varieties of caste and creed, its unsurpassed literature, and the many facilities and advantages it afforded for extensive commerce with the West. The Greeks who were then the only enlightened nation in Europe regarded all those beyond the pale of their influence as barbarians, and cared little to have any transaction with them. But the great Macedonian conqueror was of a quite different stamp. His ambition knew no bounds, and nothing was beyond its far-reaching grasp. Behind "the wild sallies of passion, the indecent excesses of intemperance, and the ostentatious display of vanity," stood "the pre-eminence of his merit, either as a conqueror, a politician or a legislator." The passage of his great fleet down the Hydaspes under Nearchus, and its coasting voyage of seven months till it was safely conducted up the Persian Gulf into the Euphrates, first opened the knowledge of a considerable part of India to the people of Europe. Alexander's Empire in Central Asia and Northern India, and most prominently his possessions in Egypt, became henceforward the connecting link between the nations of the East and the West. After the death of the great monarch the Ptolemies to whose share Egypt fell, conserved the trade with the East, and under the successive Ptolemies who reigned between the years B. C. 323 and 144, it developed to a great extent. In the Greek word for *rice* and *ginger* we have indubitable philological evidence of the early Greek trade with Southern India and the Malabar Coast. In the word *Oryza* (rice) we may undoubtedly detect the Tamil word *arisi*, of which the Malayalam word *ari* is but a contracted form. It means rice deprived of the husk, and that was the condition in which rice was then as now exported. Ginger, Greek *Zingeber*, says Dr. Burnell, is derived from the Malayalam name of the plant, and the Greeks probably took it direct from Malabar. In Malabar green ginger is known as *Inchi*, and *Inchi 'ver'* means Inchi 'root.' Ginger is chiefly exported even now from Malabar, and in earlier times the Greeks procured it almost exclusively from that province.[27]

26. Logan's Malabar Manual, Vol. I, p. 257.
27. Indian Antiquary, Vol. I, p. 352.

With the Greek invasion of India and the embassy of Megasthenes (317 B. C. to 312 B. C.) to the court of Chandragupta Maurya, we emerge from regions of obscurity and see the light of history. The reference by Megasthenes in his *Indika* to *Charmæ* and *Pandæ* has been identified with the early Chera and Pandya kingdoms. His *Naræ* have been thought to be the Nairs of Malabar. Pandya, he says, is called after the Indian Hercules, identified with Krishna, an admittedly Brahmin deity. Pliny reports from Megasthenes that the *Pandæ* alone among Indian nations were ruled by women, and this no doubt foreshadows the still existing Nair system of inheritance and domestic government which might, for aught we know, have governed the ruling race of *Pandæ* in those early days.

The next conspicuous landmark we have of anything regarding Southern India is the mention of the three Dravidian kingdoms of South India, Chera, Chola, and Pandya by Asoka in one of his well-known edicts. That great monarch was the grandson of Chandragupta Maurya who drove the Greeks out of India and secured native independence. Under him the Mauryan Empire attained its highest plenitude of power and prosperity. It stretched far into the south, its southern boundary being defined with a near approach to accuracy as a line connecting Pondicherry on the east coast with Cannanore on the west, or, approximately as the twelfth degree of north latitude.[28] Thus the Chera or Kerala, Chola and Pandya kingdoms were outside the Empire and therefore independent. The second edict mentions them as *Pratyants* or neighbouring realms only.[29]

Not long after Asoka ascended the throne, he adopted the Buddhist faith and avowed it openly in the *Bhabra*[30] edict. For about two centuries and a half prior to Asoka's conversion, Buddhism maintained its position in a portion of the valley of the Ganges as a sect of Hinduism. To Asoka belongs the credit of transforming this local sect into a world-wide religion. His despatch of missionaries to the south marks an epoch in the civilisation of Southern India. In the *Bhabra* edict he enumerates the foreign countries to which he has despatched his missionaries, and these include the Chola and Pandya kingdoms in the extreme south of India and Ceylon. Though

28. Vincent Smith-Asoka, p. 70.
29. Ibid, p. 115.
30. Ibid, p. 142.

Kerala is not specially mentioned here, the second edict makes it clear that that country had also come within the sphere of his civilizing activity. It says, "everywhere in the dominions of His Majesty King Priyadarsin, and likewise in the neighbouring realms, such as those of the Chola, Pandya, Satiyaputra, and Keralaputra, in Ceylon, in the dominions of the Greek King Antiochus, and in those of the other kings subordinate to that Antiochus everywhere on behalf of His Majesty King Priyadarsin, have two kinds of remedies [? hospitals] been disseminated—remedies for men, and remedies for beasts. Healing herbs, medicinal for man and medicinal for beast, wherever they were lacking, have everywhere been imported and planted."

"In like manner, roots and fruits, wherever they were lacking, have been imported and planted."

"On the roads, trees have been planted, and wells have been dug for the use of man and beast."

The bounty of the Great King and his humane instincts extended not simply to suffering humanity but also to the brute creation. His large-hearted sympathy knew no bounds of empire. It went beyond the limits of his own dominions and sought the friendly co-operation of independent rulers governing countries on the borders of the Empire. That it was so appears from the mention of the existence by the Chinese traveller Hiouen Thsang of one *Stupa* in the Chola country and of another in the Dravida or Pandya kingdom as ascribed to Asoka.[31]

Though we do not derive as much information as we could desire from these edicts, we may safely conclude from them that the extent of country comprised by the kingdoms of Kerala, Chola and Pandya had a settled government under local kings whose aid and friendly co-operation the great Mauryan Emperor thought it right to seek so that the measures adopted by him to ameliorate the condition of suflering creation may be of use in those countries as well.

Under the overpowering influence of the "First Emperor" the Buddhist faith must have made headway in the South, and we read in the Ceylonese Chronicles that Ceylon was converted by Mahendra and his sister Sanghamitra, the illegitimate children of Asoka. Though rejected as unhistorical by Professor Oldenburg and the

31. Vincent Smith-Asoka, p. 47.

authority of the chronicles a good deal discounted by various authors, Mr. Vincent Smith thinks that Mahendra, a near relative of the Emperor, was at least a principal agent in the conversion of Ceylon. He further observes that " the existence in the delta of the Kaveri of a ruined monastery ascribed to Mahendra, the younger brother of Asoka, is some evidence of the real existence of that personage and of his missionary efforts in the South of India. An interesting passage in the travels of Hiouen Thsang proves that in the days of Asoka and for a considerable period afterwards, the country around Tanjore, the scene of busy commercial activity, was also a centre of Buddhist religious life. The Chera, Chola, and Pandya dynasties were closely related to each other in their origin, and till by the march of time they and those over whom they ruled became separated altogether so as to disclose no apparent affinity at present, they may be dealt with as being bound by the same ties of racial and social life. The Puranas say that they were the sons of Dushyanta adopted son of Turvasu of the Lunar line of Kshatriyas. According to Bishop Caldwell "The Tamil people, or as they are called in Sanskrit the Dravidas, were divided in ancient times into three great divisions, the Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas. The arrangement of the name is climatic, and denotes that the Pandyas were supposed in those times to have the pre-eminence, a supposition which appears to be in accordance with the facts of the case. According to Tamil legends, Cheran, Cholan, and Pandyan were three brothers who at first lived and ruled in common at *Korkai* near the mouth of the Tamraparni. The lands held by all three in common were at *Mukkani* (the three properties) near *Korkai*. Eventually a separation took place. Pandyan remained at home. Cheran and Cholan went forth to seek their fortune and founded kingdoms of their own to the North and West."[32] Hence it would not be wrong to say that there was a good deal in common with the Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas, and the condition and circumstances of each throw considerable light on those of the other two.

In considering the nature of the conquest made by the Aryans in Southern India, it is important to remember as Dr. Caldwell observes " that the introduction of the Dravidians within the pale of Hinduism appears to have originated not in conquest, but in the peaceable process of colonisation and progressive civilisation. There is no

32. History of Tinnevelly, p. 12.

tradition extant of a warlike irruption of the Aryans into Southern India, or of the forcible subjugation of the Dravidians, though, of such an event ever took place, some remembrance of it would probably have survived. All existing traditions and the manner by which the Brahmanical race is distinguished in Tamil—*viz.*, Aiyar, fathers, instructors, and, Pappar, overseers, tend to show that Brahmans acquired their ascendancy by their intelligence and administrative skill."[33] Further on, he adds—"The Aryan immigrants to the south appear to have been generally Brahmanical priests and instructors, rather than Kshatriya soldiers and the kings of the Pandyas, Cholas, Kalingas and other Dravidians, appear to have been simply Dravidian chieftains, whom their Brahmanical preceptors and spiritual directors dignified with Aryan titles and taught to imitate and emulate the grandeur and cultivated tastes of the Solar, Lunar, and Agni-Kula race of kings."[34]

K. P. PADBHANABHA MENON.

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33. Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, p. 114.
34. See a passage quoted from Max Muller to the same effect in the Tanjore Manual, p. 734.

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MY TOUR IN UPPER INDIA.*

IT must have occurred to most of you, on reading the notice regarding this meeting, that the subject matter of the paper I propose to read before you this evening is a stale one. I admit that it is so, and I regret very much that it is so. My explanation, however, is this. At an entertainment that the members of the Literary Union were kind enough to give me on my return from the Tour, they desired that I should give them an account of the various places and things I saw, and as I had myself, as President of the Union, resolved to do some such thing on my return, and accordingly, had been keeping a separate diary and making copious notes of the various things I saw, I promised, rather thoughtlessly, as I had ere long reason to realize, that I would, at an early date, do so after putting together those notes. On rejoining duty, I found my hands so full of work as not to allow me any leisure to enable me to redeem my pledge with them, and I am glad to say that they also realized my exact position and with perfect good sense refrained from pressing me then. But as soon as the year was out, and they had reason to believe that there was some relaxation in the pressure of work on my hands, they renewed their application, and would have the promised thing from me, belated though it be. I had therefore nothing for it but to comply with their request made with so much consideration, and hence my presence before you this evening. But I may be permitted also to state that I am not responsible for such a big affair having been made of it, like this. The original understanding was, if I mistake not, to do this at one of the Union's Social Gatherings, and should what I am now going to say bore or fail to interest some of you, I only request that you will lay the blame on the right shoulders.

Now, to begin with, I joined His Highness' party, as previously arranged, at Trichur, in the afternoon of the 5th November last. The

* This paper was read before the Ernakulam Literary Union by Mr. Justice Narayana Marar of the Cochin Chief Court at the last anniversay meeting. We have no doubt that the paper will be found to be both interesting and instructive. As good wine needs no bush, a good essay needs no puffing up. It will commend itself to the tastes of the cultivated reader. We are only sorry that for want of space we have to hold over a portion of the paper for the next number. We take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Justice Narayana Marar for his kindness in readily giving us permission to publish it in this Journal.—ED. M. Q. R.

special train left Trichur at 3-20 and arrived at Shoranore an hour later. After supper we again started and reached Tiruppati, our first halting place outside Cochin, the next morning. There was very little of real interest there except the temple on the Hills. His Highness had to postpone his visit to the temple on account of some pollution till the return journey, but I with some others of the party went up the next morning. The Hill scenery was good, but the enjoyment of it was marred to a considerable extent by the contemplation of the mass of human suffering and misery that was forced upon you all along the roadside,—men, women and children covered all over with sores and ulcers, mostly real but some also, I suspect, make-believe, in every conceivable form of disease, deformity and destitution, and pestering your life out of you with hideous cries for alms, which are never quieted by whatever you may give. The spectacle depressed my spirits a great deal. Nor was the temple when it was reached, or its surroundings, calculated to brighten one up, as these latter were full of dirt and filth, the recent rains they had, aggravating the malodours and the general insanitary condition of the place. I felt great relief when I found myself back again in the low country. We stayed in all three days and two nights at Tiruppati, and left it on the evening of the 8th November for Tungabhadra, our next stage, which was reached the next morning. It was a regular *pic-nic* party there and very enjoyable. The cooking and eating were all on the river side, and the day was delightfully cool. His Highness occupied the Railway Staff Bangalow, and we were accommodated in tents outside. In the evening, we left for Poona which was reached on the 10th morning. The Bangalow arranged was a splendid one, close to the Station, very neat and tastefully furnished, and with all conveniences. In the afternoon we visited the Fergusson College, our chief attraction to the place, of course, being the Principal Mr. Paranjapye. Him we found at his quarters close by, as the College was closed for the vacation, engaged in valuing examination papers, a very prepossessing, modest, unassuming young Brahmin gentleman in purely native costume, in spite of his sojourn in England, and worthy of all that we had heard in praise of him. He showed us over the building, from the terrace of which there was a splendid view of the town and the surrounding country, *i. e.*, as far as the hills encircling it almost all round, on the tops of which some of the forts famous in Indian history, such as Singhar

and Purandhar were pointed out to us. Close to the College are the students' quarters, an excellent mansion raised by private subscription, Rs. 10000 of which was contributed by the Thakoor Saheb of Gondal, whose portrait adorns the walls of the College. From the College we drove to the Parbati Hill about 3 miles away. On the top of it is a temple dedicated to Parvati, the Goddess of Sivaji, built, it is said, in 1748, and to the south of the temple, a ruined palace of the Peishwas, destroyed by lightning. From there we went to the Bund gardens, so called after a bund close by, erected right across the Moola Moota river, towards the costs of which over a lac of rupees was, it appears, contributed by Sir Jamsetji Jejeeboy. The garden is a very beautiful one, roses of various kinds and other flowers being the most prominent feature.

The next morning we went out for a drive to the Kirki battle-field near the Governor's residence in Ganeshkhend. On our way back we witnessed something of a cavalry drill. At 12 was the State visit to the Governor. Four of his officers accompanied His Highness, who on alighting was received by an A. D. C., who with the Oriental Translator, apparently an important functionary in such matters, conducted the party to His Excellency. After a brief conversation, His Highness introduced his officers to His Excellency, who then gave *attar* to His Highness and garlanded him and then offered *pansupari*. The Oriental Translator did the same to the officers. After the ceremony, the party were conducted by the A. D. C. and the Oriental Translator to the Tower from which a good view of the town was had. On the top of this tower is a huge iron tank filled with filtered water which is supplied by means of pipes to every corner of the Governor's palace and the auxiliary buildings.

We visited the Deccan Paper Mills here which afforded a very interesting sight. The rags and other raw materials were first cut up into fine shreds by machinery, then boiled in steam in huge cast-iron hollow balls and then bleached and cleansed chemically in a succession of large revolving tubs, from one to another of which the milky pulp flowed more and more refined, until it came to an arrangement of the nature of looms, over which it spread thinner and thinner, and finally evolved out of the liquid state in which it till then was, into the form with which we are all familiar. The

whole process from beginning to end including that of water-lining, was fully explained to us by an intelligent Parsi gentleman who showed us over the place. In the evening we went out to see the native portion of the town. I had wondered very much when I saw the European quarter of the town the previous day, how the plague ever came to such a neat, healthy, airy and beautiful place like this, but all that wonder was dispelled the moment we entered the native city. It was dirty, with narrow streets, and overcrowded. It was very extensive too. In short, it seemed to be a highly enlarged edition of Mattancherry, in almost every respect. There is one peculiarity in the nomenclature of the streets of the native city of Poona—which, by the way, is pronounced Punay by the natives'. Some of the streets are named after the days of the week, because it appears, the Peishwas, when they held sway, resided in different streets on different days of the week, in Sunday Street on Sundays, in Monday Street on Mondays, and so on. At noon on the 12th, the Governor paid his return visit accompanied by an A. D. C. and the Oriental Translator, when the usual ceremonies were gone through including the offering of the *pansupari*, after which, at 1 P. M. we left Poona for Bombay. Most of our Railway travelling throughout the tour was done during the night, leaving one station after supper and arriving at another in the morning for breakfast. An exception was made in this particular instance to enable us to see the wonders and beauties of the journey over the Ghats. At Lanowlee Station which we reached at about 3 o'clock, the carriages were lighted preparatory to our passage through the tunnels, of which there were twenty-two or twenty-three, more or less long and completely dark. It was a unique experience going through the tunnels. But the most wonderful thing was the mountain scenery itself, which baffles all description. Impatient of the limited vision obtainable through the carriage windows, I took advantage of the earliest opportunity that offered itself to get into the Guard's Brakevan, which afforded a better and fuller all-round view. Sometimes you ran along a narrow ridge with yawning valleys on either side; at other times through a deep gorge between steep threatening precipices. Emerging again into the open, beyond, on either side, and in front, the wild profusion of rocky hills and broken crags, of barren ledges and wooded dales, presented so magnificent a scene of tumult and disorder as if Nature had been running riot in these

parts until disturbed by man. And such a disturbance too! It is impossible not to admire, along with the rest, the penetrative genius of the engineer who first thought it possible to evolve order out of such a wilderness of rocks and ravines. Before the descent began at what is known as the Reversing Station, my companion the Guard, pointed out to me a piece of rock standing prominently out from an adjoining ridge and known as the Duke's nose, from its supposed resemblance to the nose of the Duke of Wellington, and at some place in the course of the descent, a bed of rock, with a cross piece at one end, known as Rama's Bed and Pillow.

We reached Bombay exactly at 7-5 in the evening. But several miles before it we began to hear, from out the distance, the tumult of the great city, and to see in the heavens, like the eager-hearted boy on his first visit to London, the light of Bombay flaring like a dreary dawn. At the Victoria Terminus His Highness was received by the Cochin merchants resident in Bombay. The lighted city in the moonlight, as we drove along to Malabar Hill, where our quarters were, presented an imposing spectacle. Malabar Hill is one, and Colaba the other, of two long arms that enclose, as in a loving embrace, a wide expanse of water known as the Back Bay of Bombay, and the view we had of it every night from our residence,—when the whole of its horse-shoe shaped foreshore, illumined with gas and other lights of various colours, that were multiplicated from the wavy, silvery surface of the placid lagoon, and the vast lighted city beyond, with the luminous haze overhanging it, were all, as it were, englobed in a huge bivalvular shell, formed of the hollow spangled heavens above and their faithfully reflected counterpart below—was highly enchanting and calculated to stir one's soul to its very depths.

It is impossible within a short space to give any satisfactory account of the various things I saw in Bombay. I content myself therefore with a brief summary of my diary of the place. His Highness was asked by His Excellency at Poona what stay he was going to make in Bombay, and when His Highness replied nine days, His Excellency observed that 9 days was too short a period for seeing anything of the city, and that one should be prepared to spend at least a month before one could hope to "do" Bombay in the proper sense of the term. We were very soon convinced of the truth of His Excellency's observation, and we tried to do as much as we could in the comparatively short space at our disposal. Early

in the morning after our arrival, we accordingly took a drive through the city, went to the Crawford market, and from there to the Apollo Bunder. In the afternoon some of us again went out and saw among other things the Elphinstone High School and the Municipal Corporation Buildings. The Corporation was in session then, and from the Stranger's Gallery we heard some of the city fathers speak. The President was a Parsi gentleman, and out of some forty members present, only two or three were Europeans. With the permission of the Engineer we were taken to the top of the tower in a lift, and from there had a good bird's-eye view of the town. The next morning also we went out on a drive, but on arriving at a certain spot on Malabar Hill, a garden on a higher level than the road attracted us. So we got down and walked on to it. We there accidently met a benign-looking old gentleman whom we afterwards found to be a member of the Bombay Legislative Council. He took us over the place and showed us the Water-works which were close by and the Reservoirs, and explained to us that the gardens we were on were the famous Hanging Gardens of Bombay, underneath which was stored the filtered water which was the source of the whole of the water supply of the city. The story is,—but I cannot vouch for it that I heard it from this gentleman,—that the reservoir was open to the sky originally, and so, liable to be polluted by bones being dropped into it by vultures and kites from the adjoining Parsi Towers of Silence. A question was raised in the Corporation as to whether the Towers should not be removed to a more distant place. The Parsis proposed an amendment that the Reservoir should be covered up; the Corporation protested on the ground of inability to finance the scheme, whereupon the Parsi members undertook on behalf of their community to subscribe among themselves the required amount, though it came to a number of lacs of rupees, with the result, the Hanging Gardens of to-day. The gentleman above referred to then invited us to his house which was very near. There in his long verandah facing the sea we saw a miniature railway with two tiny little wagons and an engine, which could be worked with a little kerosine oil and water, and in which two little children could conveniently ride up and down the verandah. It appears the owner purchased it at the late Paris Exhibition for the trifling sum of Rs. 40,000 as a toy for his children to play with.

In the afternoon we visited Richardson and Cruddas' Iron Works. The manager himself took us over the place and explained everything. The Hydraulic Riveting Machine, the Air-Pressure Drills, and the Molten Metal and the methods of casting, were the things that struck me most. We were also shown at this place a Kitson lamp, 2000 candle power. The incandescent mantles were of such white light as to rival that of electricity. Their brilliance dazzled our eyes. From there we went to the Sassoon Silk Mills of which the Honourable gentleman above referred to was the Director. The processes, both of spinning and weaving, were wonderful to behold, while that of drying by machinery was a real novelty to us. From there we drove to the Victoria Gardens and the Museum and Menagerie. The building is very beautiful and the gardens extensive.

Our objective the next morning was the Parsi Towers of Silence. There are five towers in all, situated in different places within the same enclosure. You do not require to be told, I presume, that they are used by that community for the purpose of disposing of their dead, which are in them exposed to the vultures which make very short work of them. It is nct an easy business to get passes to go within the sacred precincts of the enclosure which are very zealously guarded from outsiders, and even after you get access within it you must be content, unless you be a Parsi, to contemplate the towers at a respectful distance. These towers are not lofty buildings as one might, by the word, be led to imagine, but circular, tub-like masonry structures very little raised from the ground. As seen from the model placed there for the benefit of visitors, they gently slope from the circumference towards the centre where there is a deep shaft to receive the fluids and the bones of the bodies exposed in them. Of the five, three are for the general public, one for suicides &c., and one is private. Persons executed in course of law are laid, not in any tower, but in a square place specially set apart for the purpose. There was no funeral on at the time of our visit, but many vultures were about, ready for any contingency. The whole place was kept neat and scrupulously clean, with a nice garden too. But somehow or other I felt myself uncomfortable all the time I was there.

Some of us went from there to the School of Arts and then to the Prince's Dock. Here ships anchor a few inches off the land, that is to say, between the ship and the shore, there is only the narrow space caused by the coir balls, let down from the deck of the

ship at short distances to act as buffers between the ship's broadside and the hard granite-constructed brink of the Docks. We stepped on to the deck of a large steamer by means of a ladder from the shore. In the afternoon we went out shopping. The shops and other buildings are several storeys high, to the higher storeys of which you are lifted up in elevators, and saved the bother of ascending steps. At night we went to the Gaiety Theatre (Gujaratti). The scenic effects were good, and also the dress, but as for the acting there was not much to be said, except of the part of the heroine which was interesting.

The next day was spent in visiting the Elephanta Caves. They are on the top of a hill on an island in the Harbour some five or six miles from Bombay. We went there in a steam launch, but owing to the adverse tide, it was rather late when we reached the place. The caves were seen with the aid of lights supplied by the European Superintendent. The rockcut figures had been a great deal mutilated by the action of time as well as by acts of vandalism. A history of the caves and photos of them are available at the gate at twelve annas each. The caves were quite different in nature from the idea I had of them in my mind. Whatever disappointment was felt was, however, amply compensated for on our return, by one of the most charming and splendid of sights we had from the harbour,—of lighted Bombay, in all conceivable colours mingled in promiscuous variety,—on the mainland, in the harbour, and on the various islands around us.

The next day we visited the Government Dockyards and the Dry Docks. The workshops in the Yards resembled those in Richardson and Cruddas'; only these were on a larger scale. We then went on board a man-of-war, and a second class cruiser, which were then in the harbour. The officers were all extremely civil to us, and vied with one another in their eagerness to explain things, which they did with evident pleasure. All the warlike stores and equipments were shown to us, and among others the latest quick firing and maxim guns. But what struck me most was the torpedo. Though a big affair and ponderous-looking, it was demonstrated to be capable of being manipulated by a single individual and that easily. His Highness was received in the cruiser with military honours, and a salute of seventeen guns was fired, when the party

left the ship. At night some of us went to the Novelty Theatre to see an English opera, "The Three Little Maids." We could not appreciate it.

At eleven the next day we went to see the Mint. It requires Government sanction for any one to see it. The Oriental Translator had made all the necessary arrangements from Poona. We were allowed inside only in batches of five at a time. It was indeed well worth a visit. There are countless processes from the melting of the metal to the stamping of the devices on the obverse and reverse, which are all interesting. The delicate machines by which the lighter and heavier coins, however small their difference from the true weight, are separated from the coins of the exact standard, are especially wonderful. Watching them, one would fancy they had intelligence. A very remarkable object lesson in psychology was presented to us in another part of this building, where, in a small room, a number of boys, all below ten, and sitting almost in a circle, were engaged in testing the true ring of the finished coins, each of them having a heap of coins by his side and a hard granite stone in front of him, on which he threw the coins with all his might. The din caused by their united efforts was deafening in the extreme; we heard it at some distance before we came to the room itself. And yet these little fellows by dint of practice and experience were able to concentrate their whole attention on the sounds produced by their own individual coins, and to detect the untrue from the true ring, in that dread confusion of sounds. At the time of our visit the coinage work that was going on was of dollars for the Straits' Settlements. From there we went to the Sassoon Library and then to the Arsenal. Here we saw among other things a big brass cannon cast in Poona in 1777 and captured from the Mahrattas at Ahmednagar by General Wellesley. We also saw the magazine rifle and its action.

His Highness visited the Sassoon Industrial and Reformatory Institute the next day. I desired very much to go, and accordingly got into one of the carriages, a double horse one right enough, and had the coachman directed to accompany His Highness' carriage. But as my horses were rather slow, the other carriage very soon outdistanced mine, and before long was out of sight. I was then in a fix. I was alone in the carriage, and I knew not a word of Gujaratti which alone the driver knew. The muff of a fellow did not know a

word of English, not even the name of so important a place as the Sassoon Industrial and Reformatory Institute. I tried it on him in all its permutations and combinations to make him understand my destination, but no response. Not so in Madras. The meanest Jutkawallah there can be managed with in English. At least he will take you to whatever public place you want. Several times I stopped my carriage to question respectably-dressed native gentlemen. They too seemed to be perfectly innocent of the language in which I spoke. At last I gave up the attempt as hopeless and sought to derive what satisfaction I might, from the reflection that Bombay after all was a backward city, compared with our own Madras, and from watching for some time the cricket match that was being played between the Oxford Authentics and the Bombay Presidency. Early morning on the next day, that is the 20th November, the 14th Prince and myself went out again to the Victoria Gardens, and after a pleasant morning walk in them, went to the Race Course and the Mahalaximi Battery. In the afternoon we visited the High Court. His Highness sat with the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Batty on the Bench for some time, and from there went to the Court of Mr. Justice Crowe who was holding the sessions and trying a case of bigamy. Messrs. Chandavarkar and Aston JJ. formed another Bench for appeals, while Messrs. Tyabji and Russell JJ. were each of them sitting on the Original side. We then ascended the Rajabhai Tower close by, and had a bird's-eye view of the city, but not so good a one as we had from the top of the Corporation Tower. The name of the Rajabhai Tower must be familiar to some of you in connection with an accident to two Parsi young ladies a few years ago which made some noise in the newspapers at that time. From there we went to the Army and Navy Stores.

The next was our last day in Bombay. In the morning we were busy packing. In the evening I had a drive with the 14th Prince to Colaba, witnessing for some time the match between the Oxford Authentics and the Hindus of Bombay. We left Bombay leaving much of it unseen at 11 P. M., on the 21st and arrived at Nasik at 6-30 A. M. From the Station to Nasik town and Panchavati is five miles. Tongas are available which go at breakneck speed. There is also a tramway. The Godavery and Panchavati were quite disappointing. The romance with which those names were associated in my memory was soon dissolved, and

a dirty, stinking, fly-swarmed place, with almost stagnant pools of water, disclosed itself. I escaped the ravenous *Pandas* (Priests) and had a quiet bath in *Ram Kund*. *Seethakund* and *Lakshmankund* are other sacred places for bath. There is a Nattu Kottai Chetty's *Sattram* in Panchavati managed by a Thathamangalam Brahman who lives in it with his family. I observed a Brahman in the river folding his cloth after bath with the help of his teeth, a sight exceedingly strange in the eyes of Southerners. Looking around, I saw it was the usual thing both for men and women there. There is a vegetable bazaar held on the bed of the river daily, and a big bazaar two days in the week. In the afternoon I visited *Seetaguha* and *Tapovanam*, the latter three miles from Panchavati. There are any number of *Mohants*, *Muts* and *Sadhus* in the place. We left Nasik the same day at 9-30 P. M. and arrived at Bhusaval at 5-30 the next morning, and entraining again at 7-30 P. M. arrived at Jubbulpore at 7 A. M. on the 24th. The house we stopped at belonged to one Raja Goculdas, a wealthy gentleman of the place. The place was colder even than Poona. In the afternoon some of us went out for a drive through the town and saw the cotton spinning and weaving factory. Except the public offices close to our residence we saw no buildings of any pretensions. At 9-30 at night we left the Station. The East Indian Railway begins here. The carriages are spacious and more comfortable. This Railway has an intermediate class between the 2nd and 3rd, and in every train a whole 3rd class carriage is set apart for females with a lavatory for their convenience.

We arrived at Allahabad at 6-36 the next morning, *i. e.* on the 25th November. Our residence there was the Palace of the Maharajah of Benares on the banks of the river Jumna. A thick mist covered the whole landscape, and it did not clear off until 8 o'clock. Then was revealed to us the beautiful river, " Though deep yet clear, though gentle yet not dull, strong without rage, without overflowing full." The bridge over the Jumna as seen from the river was a magnificent structure. The climate was colder than that of Jubulpore, and for the first time I put on my overcoat. Even at midday the necessity for flannel clothing was felt. With all the cold, we had a fine bath in the river which was both delightful and exhilarating. As usual, the native portion of the town is dirty, with narrow streets, and the European portion, neat and clean. On the second day we

went to the confluence of the river Jumna with the Ganges, and performed the *Triveni Snanam.* I have not been yet able to understand why it is called *Triveni,* for, the reason given for it may, without fear of contradiction, be extended to its being called by any other name indicating any other number. Three hundred Brahmans were fed in the open courtyard of the Palace. The majority of them were dressed like Mahomedans, even the latter's skull cap having been adopted. They did not seem to observe, like the Brahmans of Southern India, *drishtidosham* or *echil* while at meals. Any one may walk through their *pankties* (rows). We left the Station in the afternoon and arrived at Benares at 6-30 the same evening. Our residence there, as in Allahabad, was in a Palace belonging to the Maharajah of Benares in Asighat on the banks of the Ganges. From the 27th November to the 6th December we were in the sacred city. The name Benares is only the Anglicised form of Baranasi, that is, the strip of ground between the Barna and the Asi, two small streams, —the latter very insignificant,—that flow into the Ganges, one at the northern and the other at the southern end of the town. Though the general direction of the river Ganges is from west to east, it bends for a short distance to the north, near Benares, so that the town stretches on the western bank of the river from south to north, between the two streams above mentioned, that give the name of Baranasi to it. The Ghats are immense stone stairways which are said to be sixty-four in number and stretch along the side of the lofty bank, which here is a beautiful curve, and the town itself is on the top of the bank and reached from the river by means of these stairways. The great Dufferin Bridge, 3568 ft. long, spans the broad bosom of the venerable river. "There is not in all India," says a European writer, "a more fascinating or impressive sight than is presented on the Ghats that line the river bank. There, day by day, thousands and thousands of devout Hindus from all the tribes and nations of many-peopled India, both men and women, meet to bathe in the sacred stream, and under the direction of hundreds of Brahman priests, to perform the thousand and one ceremonies of purification and prayer which their elaborate and exacting ritual prescribes. Any attempt to depict in words this wonderful scene must fall short of the truth. Viewed from the river, the vast array of picturesque temples, monasteries and shrines, rich in carving and fretwork, which line the top of the bank, stands out sharply defined against the blue

sky and forms a background to the animated scene beneath them. Up and down the immense stairways below, passes an ever moving multitude of worshippers, arrayed in brilliantly coloured or dazzlingly white garments. Lower still, the eye falls on a dense mass of figures crowding the lowest steps of the Ghats, some seated in meditation on the steps themselves, others lining the wooden piers thrust out into the water, but all with intense gaze and muttering lips engaged in ceaseless prayer. Among and around these again is a great multitude, breast-high in the sacred stream, with a fixed ecstatic look engaged in washing away the impurities of soul and body alike. And from all goes up one continuous prayer and adoration like the sound of a moaning wind over a distant forest. Eye and ear alike are filled and flooded with an indescribable and overwhelming multitude of sensations, and the heart is oppressed with the august meanings which lie behind this awe-inspiring sight. This is Benares. Here is laid bare the secret which for thousands of years, through vicissitudes the most terrible, and changes the most radical, this wonderful city has held to itself, and which now in these more peaceful times has given it a new lease of life. Here, if anywhere, is portrayed the very spirit of Brahminism." It is impossible for me to give you a better or more graphic description of the Ghats of Benares, or of the religious fervour that is presented there every day throughout the year. This is, however, true only of the numerous pilgrims to the city, and not of the vast majority of the permanent residents of the place, among whom are included the very dregs and offscourings of society from every part of the country. Vices and immoralities of every description abound, which are freely indulged in, in the comfortable faith, that all accumulated sins could be washed away at the next bath in the holy waters near at hand. Walking along the Ghats it is sickening to see all the gutters of the vast city emptying themselves into the river. More sickening still is the sight presented at the burning Ghats, where there are, at all times of the day, at least a couple of bodies burning on pyres very close to the edge of the river, into which they are washed before the process of cremation is completed, to make room for others waiting on the banks above. But in spite of these impurities so irreverently cast on her bosom and the enormities so freely committed on her banks, the mighty river, like a gentle soul, unaffected and unconcerned, flows majestically along.

On the 3rd day His Highness shifted to Nandeswar Koti, a well furnished and splendid mansion, also belonging to His Highness the Maharajah of Benares, five miles from Asi, to which His Highness returned every day for his morning bath and meal. The Maharajah paid a State visit to His Highness who received him and suite including his Dewan and A. D. C. in Darbar, on the 3rd December. The next day the visit was returned, also in state, at Ramnagar Koti (Fort) the residence of the Maharajah, which is situated on the opposite bank of the river, a mile higher up the Asi. The view of the river and the city from the marble balcony of the Koti was very good. There were also on view, in a corridor of the Palace, some exquisite pieces of carving in ivory. As a part of the ceremony His Highness was presented with a photo of the Maharajah, and a box of very fine workmanship in ivory and wood, containing photos of the several sacred Ghats, and we, the Durbaris, with a book each, containing similar photos but smaller in size. Going to the Koti, we crossed the Dufferin Bridge and had a long drive through open country, but we returnad floating down the river in one of the Maharajah's big State boats. Many a walk I took by myself through the narrow winding labyrinthine streets of the city, a conglomerate of the ancient Aryan, latter day Mussulman, and modern European civilization, quite in juxtaposition with one another, and suggesting reflections too deep, mixed and indefinable to lend themselves to be expressed in words. Benares was a large emporium of trade in former days. "Commerce", says Macaulay in his essay on Warren Hastings, "had as many pilgrims as religion. All along the shores of the venerable stream lay great fleets of vessels, laden with rich merchandise. From the looms of Benares went forth the most delicate silks that adorned the halls of St. James and of Versailes, and in the bazaars the muslins of Bengal and the sabres of Oude were mingled with the jewels of Golconda and the shawls of Cashmere." These glories, however, have departed, and the only things for which Benares is now noted are silks embroidered in sumptuous designs of gold and silver thread, known as Kincob work, and engraved brass ware. As for the religion of the Brahman priests of the place, it is all humbug, and money grabbing. I for one do not believe that they themselves have any faith in the rites and the ablutions at which they officiate on behalf of the pilgrims for the sake of lucre. They know not a word of the *Shastras*, they make a

ness of the formulæ they have to repeat, and, judged by the rules of the *Shastras*, in their conduct and habits they show themselves to be of all people the most irreligious. One evening we went to the Visvanath temple to witness the *Deeparadhana*, locally called *Arthi*. It really was an imposing spectacle, the only one of the kind calculated to arouse any feeling of religious awe that I ever came across in this holy city.

I left Benares on the evening of the 6th December, *i. e.* one day in advance of His Highness, to Gaya which was reached the next morning. The city of Gaya is dirtier than Panchavati. The place arranged for us was outside the town in a healthy locality with plenty of open space around, planted with palmyras. We started for the performance of the *Sraddhas* which were over by 12 noon; one in the river Phalguni, another at the Vishnupad temple, and a third at the Akshayavadam, where *Suphalam* was purchased, after a good deal of bargaining, for under rupees ten. The Gayavalis are a terribly extortionate class of priests, but they let me off lightly, I believe, partly because they knew I was one of the advance guard of the Maharajah's party they expected on the morrow, and whose custom they were anxious to secure, and partly because they were shrewd enough to suspect my preparedness to admit their title to the vicariate that they claimed. These *three Sraddhas*, it appears, make what is called *Panchagaya*, which is of a piece with the *two* rivers that make the *Triveni* at Prayag. His Highness arrived in the evening, and early next morning proceeded to the Phalguni and happily finished all the ceremonies before 11, in spite of fears that they might be protracted much longer, and the Gayavalis were very munificently paid.

After breakfast on the 9th December we left Gaya for Bankipore at 10-45 A. M. and arrived at the latter place at about 2 P. M. This place was very chill. We stopped there in a palace belonging to the Maharajah of Durbhanga. We made use of the few hours' stay there to visit a granary, which was a dome-like building erected somewhere about the middle of the last century for the storage of grain against famine. The acoustic effects inside the globular structure were very startling, multiple echoes of every syllable uttered being heard from every direction. We climbed to the top of the building by a winding stairway and had an excellent view of the river Ganges and of the town of Patna in the distance, though it was

partly dimmed by the mist which was present even then (*i. e.* half-past 2 P. M.) After supper we entrained again 8 P. M. for Calcutta, which was reached at 7-15 the next morning, *i. e.* the 10th December.

Our residence here was the Palace of the Maharaja of Vizianagaram, at Belliagatte, nearly three miles from the Station. It was a huge and magnificent building, beautifully furnished, and easily and conveniently accommodating the whole party, with room to spare. It had a nice garden with two tanks, with the only drawback of a neighbouring jute mill, working day and night and depositing layers of soot incessantly to the detriment of our articles of clothing. In the afternoon we visited Fort William, the Hooghly river-side full of streamers, and the Eden garden, and returned home driving along Dalhousie Square and the Viceregal mansion. At night we went to see Harmston's Circus.

On the morning of the 11th, we drove to the Zoological gardens containing a splendid collection of animals and birds. The ourangoutangs were very amusing, the female with a cloth, which she used for covering herself up, and which she was careful did not fall off of itself, or was not blown off by the wind. The armadillo, the tapir and the zebra were seen in life for the first time. There was also a spitting deer and a hooka-smoking bear. The snake-eating cobra, and a variety of alligator with a long nose were also very remarkable. There was a "Put-a-half-anna-piece-in-the-slot-and-try-your-weight" machine under a tree, which of course worked automatically. I tried my weight which was found to be ten stones, *i. e.* an increase of one stone, thanks to the travel and the enjoyment. The next morning I paid a visit to Mr. Justice Gurudas Bannerjee. He was a thin short man, with cropped hair, and mustachios, and a face beaming with goodness, intelligence and gentility. A very religious and orthodox Hindu, he was at his morning pooja when I called. He was Vice-Chancellor of the University for a series of years. Being always anxious to learn, he asked me, I do not know, how many questions on matters connected with Malabar in the course of the short interview we had. In the afternoon some of us attended a public meeting in the Town Hall presided over by the Viceroy, and enjoyed the pleasure of listening to a noble speech from the chair on the late Sir John Woodburn, to perpetuate whose memory the meeting had been called. The Chief Justice, Mr. Justice

Rampini, the Advocate General Mr. Woodroffe, Dr. Ashutosh Bannerjea and the Acting Lieutenant Governor, and others whom we were not able to identify, also spoke at the meeting.

On the 13th we went to see the Sanskrit College. Those competent to judge are of opinion that the teaching was not of a high order, nor the staff of teachers particularly brilliant. His Highness was able in a short time to make a deep impression on, and to command the admiration of, the teachers as well as the pupils. From there we proceeded to the Presidency College, and had the rare good fortune of meeting the famous, I might almost say the world-famous, Professor of Physical Science, Dr. Jugdis Chander Bose, who had recently revolutionized scientific ideas concerning matter, and who had only a fortnight or so previously returned from Europe. Mr. Mitra, the Deputy Accountant General, who was of great assistance to us during our stay in Calcutta, and who had been one of the most brilliant of Professor Bose's students, had arranged with the Professor for some marvels for us. We thought we were going to have some demonstration of wireless telegraphy, but the Professor had in store for us a still greater wonder. He first of all explained to us in a short lucid lecture the nature of his recent discoveries with regard to the "Response of Matter to Stimulus." He said that when a human body is pinched what actually takes place is, that the irritation generates a nerve current which courses, along the arm, up the shoulder and neck, into the brain, producing the ever mysterious consciousness of pain. This nerve current, he said, is so akin to electricity that if, at the same time, the pinched part of the arm be connected by means of a wire to a galvanometer, which the Professor happily described as an artificial brain, it would flow also along the wire into this artificial brain, and be revealed by it by an ingenious arrangement, by which a beam of steady light reflected from the instrument is deflected according to the nature and intensity of the stimulus, and the deflection recorded on an automatic recorder moving by clock-work. He then proceeded to state that, if for the human arm, a stem of a plant or a piece of metal be substituted, their behaviour under like stimulus, as revealed by the artificial brain, would be exactly the same. These facts were demonstrated by a few simple experiments. The Professor's Assistant was the first subject of experiment. Pinches of various degrees of intensity were administered, and though the subject of them did

not show any outward signs of pain, the artificial brain faithfully recorded what was really taking place in the nerve cells of the human brain. Pleasurable sensations were distinguished by the deflection taking place in the opposite direction. It was really wonderful; but the wonder grew when the experiment was continued with the stalk of a vegetable. It behaved exactly as the arm of the Assistant did. A further experiment was shown with the vegetable body which could not, without serious inconvenience, be tried on the human body. Part of it was killed by immersion in boiling water for a few minutes, and when the experiment was again tried with the killed portion, the beam of light kept steady and immovable, absolutely refusing to budge even the fraction of an inch, however much the dead vegetable matter was pinched or wrenched. But when the unkilled portion was substituted, its behaviour was exactly the same as before. He was not able to show experiments with metals, as he had only a short notice, and they required longer preparation. But after all the above, we were quite prepared to take his word for it, that metals too behaved in the same fashion under stimulus, however much we should have liked to see the experiments themselves. He told us, as the result of his experiments on metals, that they not only responded to stimulus, but suffered extremes of heat and cold like human beings, were fatigued like them by over excitement, were liable to sleep and even to fall into states of torpor from which they might be gradually aroused and brought back to full activity under irritation, were affected by stimulants and narcotics, and finally were liable to be killed by poisons like chloroform and chloral, when they no longer responded to stimuli. The result of all this, the Professor said, was to advance the scientific notion of life a step further. The true test of life, as you may all know, was originally believed to be the power of self-locomotion. As science advanced, it was conceived to be the power to grow or increase in volume by assimilating foreign matter taken in or absorbed as food, and to reproduce or beget likes. This notion included the whole of the vegetable kingdom along with the animal, in the category of living things. The grand epoch-making discoveries of Professor Bose, by which he demonstrated the absolute unity of character of pulsations under stimuli, in metals as well as in bodies ordinarily known as living organisms, both animal and vegetable, take in the mineral kingdom too under the designation of living things, the true test

of life according to him being, not self-locomotion or any other tests hitherto proposed, but capacity to respond to external stimulus. According to him, we called objects non-living which are merely *dead*, which *were* once sensitive but *are* such no longer. Metals having so many points in common with human beings and animals generally, he said he was at that time engaged in further researches in the same field, with a view to discover antidotes for poisons, as he well could, because he was enabled to achieve similar results by freely experimenting on metals, without either offending against the Criminal Law, or violating the sensibilities of Antivivisectionists and other similar Societies, until there came into existence,—which probably is not quite unlikely at some future time—a class of tender-hearted people associated together for the prevention of cruelty to minerals. We wished him every success. He is undoubtedly a great man. Like most great men, he was also childlike in the pleasure and delight he took in showing us the experiments and explaining them. It appears he is also very simple in his habits, spending as little as possible on himself, and as much as he could possibly spare, out of his income, in the interests of science, which in Calcutta did not appear to be so favoured by Government as it is in Madras. His laboratory in the College is but ill-furnished with the necessaries for his purposes. He, however, is a comparatively young man, full of energy and enthusiasm for his work, and, contemplating his face, adorned as it is with that lustrous pair of eyes ever burning with the light of divine intelligence, one cannot help feeling that his future is destined to excel his past. Speaking for myself, the hour I spent in his laboratory was the most highly prized of all in the course of this tour, as it afforded me the keenest and most indescribable delight and interest.

K. NARAYANA MARAR.

(To be continued)

This number contains 25 extra pages.

The reviews of the books and pamphlets that have been kindly sent to us are held over for a subsequent number for want of space.—Ed. M. Q. R.